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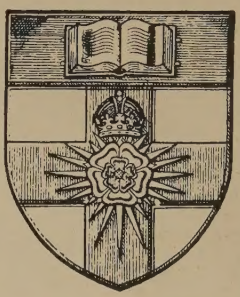

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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Committee of Publication.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.
EDWARD STANWOOD.
JAMES FORD RHODES.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD,
Editor.

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Abbott Lawrence.

Massachusetts Historical Society

PROCEEDINGS

Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

PROCEEDINGS

OCTOBER, 1908—JUNE, 1909

VOLUME XLII

Published at the Charge of the Waterston Publishing Fund

Boston
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
MDCCCCIX

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

THIRD SERIES. — VOL. II.

1908, 1909.

Published at the Charge of the Waterston Publishing Fund.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
MDCCCCIX.

University Press:
John Wilson and Son, Cambridge.

PREFACE.

This volume includes the proceedings of nine stated meetings of the Society, October, 1908, to June, 1909, thus covering one year's activity. The records of the meetings in 1908 were prepared for the press by Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, as acting editor; those of the subsequent meetings jointly by Mr. Ford, whose appointment as Editor became effective in January, and by Mr. Tuttle.

The papers and material contributed apply to a wide field of history. Relating to the puritan poet and poet of the puritans, the tercentenary of the birth of John Milton received its due recognition. The oration of Dr. Everett and introductory remarks by the President were, at a later meeting of the Society, supplemented by the President's search for some marks of an immediate influence exerted by Milton upon New England literature of the eighteenth century, in which he reached a negative result. Incidentally, an edition of "Paradise Lost" was shown, with a hitherto unknown titlepage, a discovery which will be of high interest, if the investigations of experts establish its full authenticity. As was fit, the Society was represented by two of its members, at the Calvin celebration in Geneva, in July, 1909.

The national celebration on Abraham Lincoln received informal notice in Mr. SCHOULER'S account of Lincoln's visit to Massachusetts in 1848, and in the PRESIDENT'S recollections of the first inauguration in 1861. Other members contributed reminiscences of the man or the occasion. From the cabinet was shown the table used in the second inauguration, in 1865, and the collections yielded an unpublished letter, written in Lincoln's early political life.

The history of the United States is treated in the original papers by Dr. HALL on Civil War Pensions, and Mr. STANWOOD on Apportionment and State Rights. Not a little new material is printed from various manuscript sources. The letters of James Monroe to John Taylor, and the correspondence that passed between Martin Van Buren and George Bancroft, are contributions to American historical records. The battles of Bull Run are noticed in contributed papers and recollections.

Massachusetts history receives ample attention, beginning with a series of letters throwing light on the English Church in Holland at the time of the Pilgrim migration. The two papers on the cutting of the cross from the ensign at Salem in 1634, and the letters and protests of the Quakers against the prosecution of their brothers in New England, from the collection of Mr. GREENOUGH, belong to the early colonial history. To a later date belong the extracts from the interleaved almanacs of Rev. William Smith, of Weymouth, and Dr. Cotton Tufts, 1738–1784, and the papers of Dr. GREEN on

Old Mile-stones leading from Boston, and Slavery at Groton in Provincial Times. Mention may also be made of Mr. SANBORN's find of some papers of Meshech Weare, the diary of the Siege of Louisburg, the letters on Lafayette's visit to the United States in 1825, and the two papers on church affairs in Virginia.

In bibliography, an attempt is made to solve the authorship of "New Englands First Fruits" (1643), and to explain the printing in England of writings by New England clergymen, 1642–1646.

As regards the Society and its members, the paper by Gov. LONG on "Reminiscences of my Seventy Years' Education" stands first. In addition to the tributes to deceased members three memoirs are printed: that of Abbott Lawrence, by Dr. GREEN; that of John Elliot Sanford, by Mr. DEXTER; and that of Charles Henry Dalton, by Mr. MERRIMAN. The Society has acquired by gift original portraits of Hon. Stephen Higginson and James Sullivan, the latter honorably connected with the Society in its early years. By gift from a Corresponding Member, Mr. HORACE DAVIS, was also obtained a copy of the "Boston Weekly News-Letter" of August 1, 1751, believed to be the only copy extant; and by courtesy of Mr. Wilder D. Bancroft, the deposit of the papers of George Bancroft, historian, to be available for historical study. Ten years' occupation of the new building was an event for congratulation, and led to a needed suggestion of the PRESIDENT against the tendency to accumulate printed material of little or no use to the purposes of the Society.

The consolidated index of the Second Series of the Proceedings will be issued before the coming winter.

At the charge of the Waterston Fund, No. 2, the Society publishes this autumn, and distributes to its members and exchange libraries, Dr. GREEN'S work on "John Foster, the Earliest American Engraver and the First Boston Printer," the result of many years of research and investigation.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS,
EDWARD STANWOOD,
JAMES FORD RHODES,
Committee.

BOSTON, July 15, 1909.

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OFFICERS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED APRIL 8, 1909.

President

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS . . . . . LINCOLN.

Vice-Presidents

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN . . . . . BOSTON.
JAMES FORD RHODES . . . . . BOSTON.

Recording Secretary

EDWARD STANWOOD . . . . . BROOKLINE.

Corresponding Secretary

HENRY WILLIAMSON HAYNES . . . . . BOSTON.

Treasurer

ARTHUR LORD . . . . . BOSTON.

Librarian

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN . . . . . BOSTON.

Cabinet-Keeper

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS . . . . . BOSTON.

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MELVILLE MADISON BIGELOW . . . . . CAMBRIDGE.
EDWIN DOAK MEAD . . . . . BOSTON.
JOHN DAVIS LONG . . . . . HINGHAM.
WALDO LINCOLN . . . . . WORCESTER.

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WILLIAM ROSCOE LIVERMORE . . . . . BOSTON.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

1860.

Hon. Samuel Abbott Green, LL.D.

1865.

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1867.

Charles Card Smith, A.M.

1871.

Abner Cheney Goodell, A.M.
Edward Doubleday Harris, Esq.

1873.

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1875.

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1876.

Hon. William Everett, LL.D.
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1877.

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1878.

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1880.

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1886.

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1887.

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1889.

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1890.

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Hon. William Wallace Crapo, LL.D.

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Col. Theodore Ayrault Dodge.

1897.

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Col. William Roscoe Livermore
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Lucien Carr, A.M.

1898.

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John Chipman Gray, LL.D.
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Samuel Lothrop Thorndike, A.M.

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Grenville Howland Norcross, LL.B.
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1903.

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1904.

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1905.

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1906.

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Arnold Augustus Rand, Esq.

1907.

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William Vail Kellen, LL.D.

1908.

Frederic Winthrop, A.B.
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George Lyman Kittredge, LL.D.
Charles Pelham Greenough, LL.B.
Henry Ernest Woods, A.M.

1909.

Worthington Chauncey Ford, A.M.
William Coolidge Lane, A.B.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1896.

Rt. Hon. James Bryce, D.C.L.

1899.

Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart., D.C.L.

1901.

Pasquale Villari, D.C.L.

1902.

Henry Charles Lea, LL.D.

1904.

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Goldwin Smith, D.C.L.

1905.

Ernest Lavisse.

1907.

Rear-Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, D.C.L.

1908.

Henry Adams, LL.D.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

1875.

Hon. John Bigelow, LL.D.
Hubert Howe Bancroft, A.M.

1878.

John Austin Stevens, A.B.
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Charles Henry Hart, LL.B.

1879.

Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Litt.D.
Hon. Andrew Dickson White, LL.D.

1880.

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1883.

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1896.

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1897.

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1898.

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1899.

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Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D.
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1903.

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Auguste Moireau.
Hon. Horace Davis, LL.D.

1904.

Sidney Lee, LL.D.
Frederick Jackson Turner, Ph.D.

1905.

William Archibald Dunning, LL.D.
James Schouler, LL.D.
George Parker Winship, A.M.
Gabriel Hanotaux.
Hubert Hall.

1906.

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Hon. Beekman Winthrop, LL.B.

1907.

Hon. James Phinney Baxter, Litt.D.
Wilberforce Eames, A.M.
George Walter Prothero, LL.D.
Hon. Jean Jules Jusserand, LL.D.
James Kendall Hosmer, LL.D.

1908.

John Bagnell Bury, LL.D.
Rafael Altamira y Crevea.
Hon. James Wilberforce Longley, D.C.L.
Henry Morse Stephens, A.M.
Charles Borgeaud, LL.D.

1909.

Lyon Gardiner Tyler, LL.D.
Clarence Bloomfield Moore, A.B.

MEMBERS DECEASED,

July, 1908 — June, 1909.

Resident.

1860, Charles Eliot Norton, D.C.L. . . . . Oct. 21, 1908.
1861, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D. . . . . June 10, 1909.
1886, Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold Allen, D.D. . . . July 1, 1908.
1899, John Noble, LL.D. . . . . June 10, 1909.

Corresponding.

1901, Daniel Coit Gilman, LL.D. . . . . Oct. 13, 1908.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1908.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the June meeting was read and approved.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the gift, by Francis H. Brown, of a copy of the portrait of Captain John Linzee, of the Royal Navy, who commanded the sloop-of-war Falcon at the Battle of Bunker Hill.

CHARLES C. SMITH called attention to the circumstance that the tercentenary of the birth of John Milton will occur on December 9, and that the regular meeting of the Society will come on the following day. He reminded the members that on some previous occasions the Society had celebrated the births of eminent men, especially in the case of Sir Walter Scott,[1] when one member was present who had seen Scott in the court-room in Scotland. Extensive preparations are making in England to celebrate Milton's birthday; and as we claim a common inheritance with Englishmen in Milton's fame we too should honor his memory. It is not on account of his greatness as a poet that we as an Historical Society are specially interested in his works; but it is on the side of his prose writings that we are led at once to a consideration of his

[1] The centenary of the birth of Sir Walter Scott was celebrated by the Society on August 15, 1871; and the member referred to was William Amory. See 1 Proceedings, xii. 139–156.

place in our history. He was the contemporary of the founders of this Commonwealth, and an uncompromising exponent of their political and religious aspirations, — a Puritan, to use his own phrase, "writ large." In any commemoration of him Massachusetts therefore should heartily join, and it is proper that this Society should take the leading part. On motion of Mr. Smith the matter was referred to the Council with full power.

Henry Ernest Woods, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society; and Charles Borgeaud, of Geneva, Switzerland, was elected a Corresponding Member.

James K. Hosmer, a Corresponding Member, on behalf of the American Historical Association, presented to the Society a newly published edition of Winthrop's Journal, edited by J. Franklin Jameson and himself. This work, in two volumes, forms a part of a series of "Original Narratives of Early American History," published by the Association. He described the method adopted in the preparation of this edition, and the purpose to present in a cheap and convenient shape a work for the use of students in high schools and colleges.

The President then said:

Again it devolves upon me to welcome back the members of the Society at another autumnal commencement of our regular meetings.

It is with a sense of satisfaction also that I report the occurrence of only one additional vacancy in our number since the June meeting. Alexander Viets Griswold Allen, Professor of Church History at the Episcopal Theological School, died in Cambridge on the first of July. I shall presently call upon our associate Dr. McKenzie to offer a characterization of Professor Allen. Meanwhile, in accordance with our usage in such cases, in announcing his death I shall confine myself to a simple statement of the facts relating to Professor Allen's connection with the Society. Born at Otis, Massachusetts, on the 4th of May, 1841, Professor Allen was at the time of his death in his sixty-eighth year. He was graduated from Kenyon College in 1862, and in 1865 from the Andover Theological Seminary. Elected a Resident Member of the Society at the December meeting, 1886, at the time of his death his name stood, in order of seniority, twenty-fourth on our roll. A

fairly constant attendant at our meetings, he rarely took active part in them, nor was he a contributor to our printed Proceedings. Appointed at the February meeting, 1893, to prepare a memoir of our late associate Phillips Brooks, he failed ever to file one; though, as is well known, he, in 1900, published independently "The Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks," a most elaborate biography in two bulky volumes, the existence of which obviates the necessity of any detailed memoir in our Proceedings. A few pages only would have met every requirement. Such a brief record of Bishop Brooks is yet to be prepared. At the February meeting, 1897, Dr. Allen favored the Society with an elaborate and discriminating paper on the anniversary of the birth of Melanchthon; and, subsequently, he prepared a memoir of our associate Horace E. Scudder, which appeared in Volume XIX. of the second series of our Proceedings. At the October meeting, 1904, Dr. Allen paid feeling tribute to Dr. E. W. Donald, whose memoir also he was appointed to write. Like the memoir of Bishop Brooks, this has not been filed, nor, I apprehend, prepared. Dr. Allen never served upon the Council of the Society, nor upon any of the Society's committees. His death, however, leaves a distinct void in our ranks.

The death of Dr. Allen left ninety-eight names upon our roll of Resident membership, and forty-nine names were upon the Corresponding roll. The election to-day of Mr. Woods in place of Dr. Allen leaves, therefore, but one vacancy to be filled in the first, while, through the choice of Mr. Borgeaud, both the Corresponding and the Honorary rolls are full.

The first meeting of the Society in the present building was held on the 9th of March, 1899; we are, therefore, now far advanced in the tenth year of the building's occupation. In the case of every edifice, public or private, especially one constructed as was this on land filled in on salt-water flats, after the lapse of time imperfections in the original construction naturally become apparent. Restoration then becomes desirable if not necessary, and the occupant of the structure may consider himself fortunate if the extent of such work of restoration is not considerable, and the cost thereof correspondingly heavy. Any defects in the original construction of this building having thus had ample time in which to reveal themselves, it was deemed best to take matters in hand,

and dispose finally of what had until then been deferred. If this work was to be done, it was further thought desirable to have it thoroughly done.

A careful survey of the building was therefore ordered, and a detailed statement of the result submitted. In accordance with this statement, an entirely new granolithic walk was laid in front of the building, and a similar walk in the yard at its rear. In the basement many of the pipes of the heating apparatus were covered with asbestos; others painted. The concrete flooring of two of the cellars was renewed; elsewhere it was repaired. To admit of this work being done, a large and somewhat dangerous subterranean accumulation of miscellaneous printed matter had incidentally to be overhauled; and, for the reception and future convenient storing of such of this matter as may be thought worth preserving, new steel shelving was made, and installed in the basement. The total cost of the entire work, all the bills for which have not yet been rendered, will be approximately $3000; and it is conclusive evidence of the goodness of the original structure and the general excellence of the work and material put into it, that, after nearly ten years of constant use, its repair and completion should call for no larger outlay. The Society is in this respect to be congratulated.

The building is supposed to be of fire-proof construction. Such construction is, however, at best a relative term; for no building of whatever material, or however constructed, is calculated to resist the furnace test. The gradual accumulation in our basement of a constantly increasing mass of inflammable matter — old furniture, framing work and scaffolding, and, above all, paper in almost every conceivable form — exposed this building to a possibility of just that test. A general clearance of the basement thus became very desirable, if not absolutely necessary. The articles of the classes first specified were easily disposed of; not so the last. For, in the case of such a Society as ours, the work of overhauling and shelving, or getting rid of accumulated printed matter, is always a delicate task. Besides being laborious and the reverse of cleanly, it calls for the exercise of no inconsiderable judgment. Involving, as it does, a risk of irreparable loss, the policy to be pursued with such material must therefore, in the first place, be decided on.

Either by bequest and accumulation or in other ways, this Society now has in its possession, beside thousands of volumes, some tons of miscellaneous printed matter, for which it has neither room nor appreciable use. A certain portion of it may advantageously, though slowly, be disposed of by exchange; but the body of it, if not wholly valueless, has no value as part of our collection. Cataloguing and indexing are costly; and without being catalogued, indexed and arranged, printed matter becomes mere combustible lumber. It must always be borne in mind, moreover, that, in these days of great libraries of a popular and miscellaneous character, ours is a specialized collection, valuable only as such. People do not come here to look for rare editions of standard authors; they come here exclusively to consult historical rarities. Surprisingly few books are, accordingly, taken from our shelves.

Under these general conditions, there would seem to be but one judicious course to pursue. Books, for instance, relating to law, which may drift into our hands, can be sent to the Law Library; those relating to surgery and medicine, to the Medical Library; those relating to theology, to the Theological Library. Volumes of public documents, other than those exceptional or historical in character, when possessed of any value at all, are rendered most accessible to those in search of them by being deposited in the library at the State House. A certain class of miscellaneous literature can best be utilized by the Boston Public Library; and another class by the Boston Athenæum. A mass, heterogeneous, miscellaneous and nondescript, — duplicates, broken sets of periodicals, discarded and forgotten fiction, cheap editions of books become classic or once popular, stillborn publications, etc., — yet remains, and this had best be turned over in bulk to the second-hand bookseller, whose establishment serves as a kind of rude printed-matter clearing-house. Duplicate editions of standard authors, copies of which the Society already has, the second-hand booksellers are always ready to purchase. No good end is, of course, subserved by retaining such upon our shelves.

Meanwhile to those having in charge the work of repair in the basement of this building, it was apparent that, in the case of our Society, the time for a general and effective house-cleaning had come. In its present form inviting conflagration, the accumulation should either be arranged and made access-

ible, or be disposed of in quarters where it will be valued. The alternative is its treatment as rubbish.

During the summer the current volume of Proceedings of the Society — the initial volume of its Third Series — has gone through the press, and will be ready for distribution at an early date.

The work of preparing a General Index volume of the twenty volumes constituting the Second Series has progressed, but not so rapidly as the Committee in charge had wished. The indexing is complete, and the copy is now in the hands of the printer. The press work will probably be completed, and the volume be ready for distribution in the spring, or, in any event, during the Society's year now beginning. It covers the record of nearly twenty-four years, January, 1884, to March, 1907, inclusive. The preceding eighteen volumes of the First Series, including the entire period since the publication of Proceedings separate from the Collections was initiated, covered the record of nearly twenty-nine years, April, 1855, to December, 1883, inclusive.

The most important event of the summer has, however, been an active negotiation carried on with a view to the selection of an editor in place of Mr. Smith. The great importance of the decision to be reached will readily be appreciated. It will gravely affect the nature of our work in future, and the amount as well as the value of our publications. Those having the matter in charge, therefore, have deemed it best to move slowly, and with the utmost circumspection. I am, however, on behalf of the Council, glad now to announce that a selection has practically been reached, and official announcement thereof will probably be made at the next meeting of the Society. Should such be the case, the new editor will assume his functions with the beginning of the year 1909.

Dr. McKenzie, having been called on to offer a characterization of Dr. Allen, spoke in substance as follows:

I am glad to respond to the request of the President and to say a few words of my neighbor and friend, Professor Allen. It is not altogether easy to do this, for his life had few remarkable incidents and was lived without noise and without the activi-

ties which attract notice. It was fine in the living, but not fruitful for describing.

The annals are simple. He was born in 1841, graduated from Kenyon College in 1862 and from the Theological Seminary at Andover in 1865, and in 1867 he was ordained to the priesthood in the Protestant Episcopal Church and became Professor of Church History in the new Theological School at Cambridge; and in that position he remained. This is not impressive if viewed superficially, but if regarded cubically, as a man's life should be, it is a large presentment. Professor Allen was a teacher. He was, moreover, a patient student. He had the true historic spirit. He knew what he knew, — which is not uncommon; but he was also aware of many things he did not know. He advanced steadily into the domain of knowledge, but he knew his limits. When I asked him regarding some point in history, he replied: "That rests on one record and I have been trying for years to find the meaning of it."

He was, perhaps, best known to those who were not in close association with him through the Ministers' Club, a society of which one of the chief founders was Andrew P. Peabody. It is composed of men of many names and diverse opinions, and every one is expected to speak freely, in the effort to promote knowledge more than to secure uniformity. I think that my friend DeNormandie will agree with me, that there was no one who was heard with more satisfaction than Professor Allen. He spoke like a full man, and we knew that there were reserves of knowledge. He spoke quietly, with touches of wit, and, if the occasion called for it, bits of sarcasm tempered with a smile. Sometimes he would traverse the common thought and startle us in the conventional views which he disturbed. One who knew him would explain it all: "It 's Allen. He does n't mean it." But he did mean it, and, more than that, he made others believe it. He spoke with an authority which we were not disposed to question openly. He was happy in his friendships with such men as Elisha Mulford and Francis Wharton, and his interchange of thought with them was a mutual advantage. His scholars have gone out to extend his influence.

He will be known also through his books. His Life of Jonathan Edwards reveals his faculty of discernment, and his

sense of perspective and proportion. He takes the life in its largeness. He could see how a man who made a study of the spider as a matter of science might use as an illustration in theology that offensive member of the animal kingdom. Edwards' illustration was terrific and has sullied his fame, but it was not a considerable part of his work as a preacher. A fuller life of Edwards may be given, but this small treatise will keep its place. "The God consciousness was the deepest substratum of his being" and "in him was a divine and supernatural light."

"The Continuity of Christian Thought" is a clearer disclosure of Professor Allen's method. He marked events, but not these alone. He saw and traced a line of thought upon which events had their place. There were continuity and connection and not merely separate events and processes. I do not recall any criticism of the work except that of our late associate Professor Smyth, of Andover, a historian of equal rank and equal sincerity. He thought that enough was not made of Augustine and his influence. This may mark a difference in the two men. For Smyth would naturally estimate the Latin theology and its control more highly than Allen, who perhaps cared more for the Greek thought. But the book is rich in learning. Dr. Allen's work on Christian Institutions would readily provoke more comment. His portrayal of the rise and original method of these institutions differed from the current views of many, possibly most, of those with whom Allen was ecclesiastically connected. But he must needs relate what he had found. When his views were somewhat vigorously opposed in England, I think by Canon Gore, he remarked quietly, "He has studied these things a few years, I have studied them all my life." When I expressed my own approval of Dr. Allen's teaching, which confirmed me in the results of my own studies, and wondered that others could draw so different conclusions from the evident facts, he said with a smile, "They know it all." "How, then, can they profess the contrary?" "Oh, they like to do it." I do not think he meant that they were not sincere, but that early training and long association and enjoyment had made them cherish opinions which his dispassionate research did not sustain. He was not disturbed. He seemed to enjoy the freedom with which good men did their thinking and fashioned their teaching.

The greater work of Professor Allen is, of course, his Life of Phillips Brooks. It was an arduous task which was laid upon him. I remember his dismay at the quantity of material placed in his hands, which he was to examine and within which the memoir was to be framed. He did not limit himself to this. He sought help wherever he thought it might be found. He knew of Dr. Brooks's prayer at the Harvard Memorial Commemoration after the war. He knew that it had made a wonderful impression. But the prayer itself he could not recover. I could give him, as others could, a general idea of the prayer, with a recital of the thoughts which would enter into it. He wanted more than this. But more could not be given. It was a great day and a solemn day for Harvard. The oration was given by Dr. Putnam and must have been worthy of the time. But that passed from the mind when the stranger rose for the sublime act of devotion. Never had a man a grander theme, never a great theme a man more suited to its claims. The love of his country, the joy in her deliverance, the loving admiration for the Harvard men who had given their lives, all were in the great soul of the man who gave reverent utterance to the thought and feeling which possessed every heart. When he finished came the awful stillness. One turned to another and asked, "Who is that?" "His name is Brooks. He is from Philadelphia." It is a sign of Dr. Allen's discernment that he saw the significance of that hour, and saw in it a revelation of the man whose spirit he was interpreting. I remember the patient effort with which he sought the secret of the event which was in the secret of the life. I was walking home with him late one evening when we came to the place where our ways parted. But he detained me. He questioned me and I gave only the answers which I could. He held me and renewed his search. I leaned upon the fence, half impatiently, and he still searched. At last I gave him a response which pleased him. "There," he cried, "I knew I should get something if I kept on." It is a trifling incident, but it marks the patience and insistence of the man. The work is indeed a memoir, and not an autobiography. He set all his powers to the constructing of the life. I once said to Dr. Brooks that I did not see how a man's biography could be written, — that there are hidden thoughts and currents of

feeling which no one can know. Dr. Brooks replied, "I do not see any difficulty in it." I believe Dr. Allen came very near doing what Dr. Brooks thought possible. The work is an admiration; words are not equal to all the biographer had in his heart to say. It has seemed to me almost an excessive admiration, much as I admired the man. I wanted the real human side, — the side one saw at his table and by his fireside. The grandeur and saintliness would not be lessened if with them we had the strong personality, humanity, of the man. Allen is not in the book, it is all Brooks; yet one has in the portrayal the mind and spirit of the author himself. In the memoir of Brooks are seen the lineaments of Allen.

I must not prolong these words. Professor Allen was a good man and it is good to recall his life. The school and the world will go on. His work will remain. But those who knew him will miss him. We shall miss the strong presence, the steady, quiet walk, the clear voice, the brave spirit, the stout heart, the firm hand, the good-natured smile. I like to repeat for him the words from the epitaph of a great lawyer: "He had the beauty of accuracy in his understanding and the beauty of uprightness in his character."

Dr. Hale exhibited a copy of the "Municipal Records of the Borough of Dorchester, Dorset," England, recently published, and called attention to the interesting original matter it contained about Rev. John White (1575–1648), called long since "the founder of Massachusetts," and about our early history, throwing new light perhaps on open questions regarding the history of Winthrop's Colony. He was the author of "The Planter's Plea" (London, 1630). James White, said to be a nephew of John White,[1] is referred to by one of the authorities cited as a rich merchant of Boston, New England, in 1652. "The First Century of scandalous malignant Priests" (London, 1643) is not by Rev. John White, but is the work of John White (1590–1645), who received the name "Century White" from it. He was the legal adviser[2] of the Massachusetts Company in London, and was a member of the House of Commons from Southwark.

[1] Dictionary of National Biography, lxi. 59.

[2] 4 Collections, ii. 218; J. G. Palfrey, History of New England, i. 306.

Dr. HALE also expressed his satisfaction that preparations are to be made for a celebration of Milton's birthday. He said that at one time he hoped to show that the word "hubub," which was undoubtedly in use by the Penobscot Indians, had been borrowed from them by Milton when he used it in his "Paradise Lost." Murray's Dictionary, however, cites the use of the word among English writers as early as 1555. He thought that the familiar use of the word "Norumbega" of late years in New England was due to Milton's use of the word in "Paradise Regained." It is on the oldest maps, but disappears before Winthrop's time.

Dr. EVERETT presented a copy of "Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic," by George Macaulay Trevelyan, the youngest son of Sir George Trevelyan, and called attention to other works, by the same writer, evincing great industry, thoroughness, and spirit. He then asked the attention of the members to the proceedings at the annual meeting of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, 17 June, 1908, containing an address in which he had drawn out at length some of the interesting and valuable points in Sir George Trevelyan's admirable history of the American Revolution. He desired specially to note an error into which he had himself fallen in discussing Trevelyan's account of Conway's cabal, having inferred that John Adams was spoken of by the historian as implicated in that intrigue. A more careful reading had convinced him that the author had done no more than mention John Adams's sharp criticisms on Washington contained in his correspondence with Rush and others, who were in the cabal, expressions which Trevelyan characterized as "playing with edged tools." But John Adams's frank and outspoken character was wholly alien to the workings of such a conspiracy, and Trevelyan (part iii. 318) records his disclaimer of it.

Dr. EVERETT further spoke of various blunders into which he himself and others had fallen with regard to historical events. Some of these were more amusing than important; but it seemed well to correct an error in the Proceedings (second series, xvi. 532) of the Society where John Quincy Adams is spoken of as the successor in the Senate of *Jeremiah* Mason, an error for *Jonathan* Mason.

His Excellency James Bryce having entered the meeting

just before Dr. Everett rose to speak, he reminded the members that Mr. Bryce had in earlier days ascended Mt. Ararat in Armenia; there could be no possible question about the fact, but all the neighborhood, especially the members of the Armenian Monastery, were firm in the belief that the feat was impossible and absolutely denied the truth of Mr. Bryce's story.

Mr. Bryce responded to the invitation of the President to speak and gave briefly an account of the event to which Dr. Everett referred.

The President, in communicating a letter presented to the Society by the Hon. John Bigelow, said:

The Hon. John Bigelow, now approaching the close of his ninety-first year, is the last survivor of those who during the War of Secession held important European diplomatic positions. Mr. Bigelow's name also now stands first on the roll of Corresponding Members of the Society, he having been elected at the February meeting of 1875. But, though he has been one of our Corresponding Members for a third of a century, Mr. Bigelow has never, so far as I am aware, been present at any of our stated meetings, though here on one or two occasions when I entertained the Society. At various times, — the January meeting, 1886, the February meeting, 1887, and the February meeting, 1906, — letters from him have been read relating either to work which it seemed to him desirable should be done, or, as in one case, to certain ancient maps of historical interest. He has also from time to time given copies of books to the library, all of which appear in our accessions catalogue. A short time since I received from him a brief note, with an enclosure for submission on his account. The enclosure is a letter, in itself of no particular moment or interest, signed J. Hamilton, and dated at Charleston, April 2, 1832; but it is addressed to the famous John Randolph of Roanoke. It will be remembered that Randolph died of tubercular consumption at a hotel in Philadelphia when on his way to England, on the 24th of May, 1833. This letter, therefore, reached him some thirteen months before his death, and when he was already suffering from the complication of ailments which finally killed him. At the time of his death he was a little less than sixty years of age.

The writer of the letter was James Hamilton, of Charleston, who must have known Randolph in Washington, as both were members of the seventeenth to the twentieth Congresses (1823–1829). At the time of writing the letter in question, Hamilton was Governor of South Carolina. Six months later (November 19, 1832) he was made President of the Nullification Convention of that State, and subsequently was appointed by Robert Y. Hayne, who had succeeded him as Governor, to the command of the State military force organized to sustain and enforce the nullification measures.

The interest of the document is wholly due to the highly characteristic endorsement of Randolph upon it. The letter and endorsement are as follows:

Charleston April 2d 1832.

My dear Sir. — As no news is good news I feel the utmost confidence that your recent illness has passed off at least without immediate danger and that you are spared to us yet and I trust in God for many a long Year. I can not reconcile the idea of parting with you at all and at such an exigent moment to lose your Talents genius & Character would indeed be an irrepairable loss. I trust with the approach of Spring you will continue to convalesce & be able to come early in the autumn to S° Carolina. I am sure one winter among us would put you firmly on your Legs again.

I return through our friend Mark Alexander the Letter you were so kind as to write me — misdirected to the President of the United States. Need I tell you how much I am delighted or how grateful I feel for the firm & unequivocal declarations which you have made to the President in behalf of our S° Carolina cause which is the cause of the whole South. Declarations so honorable to your own firmness honesty & Patriotism.

But I will not perhaps in a convalescence which may require a truce from politicks intrude any further on your forbearance these thorny topics. As soon as you are able to write let me hear from you & be assured My Dear Sir of the unalterable affection & regard with which

I am faithfully & respect[fully]
Your friend J. Hamilton.

John Randolph Esqr
(Of Roanoke)

[Addressed]
John Randolph Esqr
of Roanoke
Charlotte C. H.
Virginia

[Note, written over the address.]
Hamilton, April 2, 1832

he "feels the utmost confidence that my *recent* Illness has passed off." I then lying in extremity at Charlotte C. H. "Recent Illness i e of years standing — a cough of five years — gout — Hepatitis — Dyspepsia — Dropsical affection — ankles & legs swelled & pitting — Water threatening the chest. Unable to breathe except bolt upright cough remorseless & incessant unless in that posture & then very troublesome. Recent illness! Words have lost their meaning now-a-days.

[Additional note].
authographe de
J. Hamilton et de
John Randolphe
donne à Vattemare
par M. à
Raleigh, N. C. en
Janvier 1849.

Remarks were made during the meeting by the President, Arthur Lord, Andrew McFarland Davis, Grenville H. Norcross, and Edwin D. Mead.

A new serial of the Proceedings, for April, May, and June, was ready for distribution at this meeting.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1908.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library for the last five months was read by the Librarian.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the receipt of the portrait of Hon. James Sullivan, first President of the Society from 1791 to 1806, a bequest of the late Richard Sullivan; the gift to the Society, by Edward Higginson, of the portrait of Hon. Stephen Higginson; and the gift by himself of two medals, one of Independence Hall, 1876, and the other of the Pan-American Exposition in 1901.

Col. T. W. HIGGINSON then said:

I have the honor to present a painting, by Gilbert Stuart Newton, copied from the original by Stuart, now in the possession of George Higginson, of Lenox, of my grandfather, Hon. Stephen Higginson, whose son, Stephen Higginson, Jr., was a member of this Society for nearly ten years and gave many volumes to its library. I recall my grandfather but dimly as an old gentleman in small-clothes whom I saw once or twice, while a child, when driven by my parents to his house in Brookline. That which fixed him later in my mind and made him an historic character to me was a single fact. He was a member of the Continental Congress in its last years, and while all his official writings have the predominant gravity which marks the rest of the Federalists, yet I learned from the only real specimen of that fine old party with whom I remember to have conversed, — James Richardson of Rhode Island, — of my grandfather's uttering the only jocose word that I ever heard attributed to any Federalist in defeat. When the last large gathering of this body of men was held at George Cabot's house in Brookline and a discussion arose as to how they should treat their conquerors, and when all others had advocated the sternest and most crushing contempt, the only

one who took the matter philosophically was Stephen Higginson. "After all, gentlemen," he said, "if a man has to live in the house with a cat, he cannot always address her as 'cat'! Sometimes he must call her 'Pussy.'"

To have been one of the first American ship-masters called on to testify before Parliament as to American colonial matters; to have been a member of the Continental Congress in its closing days; to have been second in command during the first effective resistance to Shays's Rebellion; the first to argue from that peril the need of a stronger government; the first to suggest that the voices of nine out of the thirteen States could make the Confederacy into a Nation; the first to organize and equip the American navy under Jefferson's administration; — these suffice to place Stephen Higginson where he belongs, among the recognized leaders of his time, that being the period of the very formation of the American Republic.

His memoir has accordingly been written by myself, under the title "Life and Times of Stephen Higginson," and will be found in our library. The fact that he sharply criticized John Hancock, in the once famous "Laco" letters, shows him to have been, like most of the leaders of that period, a frank critic of his compeers, if somewhat more spicy than the rest; but the internal disputes among reformers are sometimes quite as interesting as the reforms themselves, and we need to know the limitations of our fathers by their judgments of one another.

I have only to add that although this gift to the Society comes through me, it is actually the donation of my nephew, Edward Higginson, Esq., of Fall River, a member of the Harvard Class of 1874.

Dr. GREEN read a statement descriptive of the portrait of James Sullivan, and relative to the bequest:

I have received from Edward B. Townsend, executor of the estate of the late Richard Sullivan, the portrait of James Sullivan, one of the founders and first president of the Historical Society. It was painted by Gilbert Stuart in the year 1807; and many years ago it was deposited temporarily with the Society by the owner Mr. Sullivan, a grandson. When the former building at No. 30 Tremont Street was dedicated in April, 1873, the portrait was placed in the small room on the

right at the head of the stairs, then called the Presidents' room, as the portraits of several of the former presidents were hung there. At a later period this room was used for the catalogue cards, and thus became known as the catalogue room. Here the painting remained until April 28, 1880, when at the request of the owner it was delivered to the Museum of Fine Arts to be exhibited there during the next month with a large collection of other paintings by Stuart. James Sullivan afterward was chosen Governor of the Commonwealth, and died while in office on December 10, 1808. Richard Sullivan, who bequeathed the portrait, died in Boston, on September 30, 1908. More than once he has told me that the Historical Society would eventually become the owner, and now his last will and testament has made good this statement.

Dr. GREEN communicated the memoir of Abbott Lawrence, which he had been appointed to prepare.

Dr. Green also presented, on behalf of Mr. SANBORN, the following paper relating to his recent discovery of a collection of Weare papers:

Next in importance to the Winthrop and Mather papers, and Bradford's long-lost History, the papers of the Weare family of New Hampshire, if they could be fully recovered, would connect two sundered parts of New England history together. They began to be scattered long ago. When Dr. Belknap tried to use them for his valuable book on New Hampshire, the last eminent member of the family, Colonel Meshech Weare of Hampton Falls, Governor and Chief Justice of New Hampshire, informed Rev. Paine Wingate, a predecessor of President Langdon in the parish of Hampton Falls, that his grandfather's papers had some of them been lost before they came into the Colonel's hands. Mr. Wingate wrote to Dr. Belknap, October 23, 1775:

> Agreeable to your request have applyed to Col. Weare for papers of his ancestor, N. Weare, who has searched among his papers, and found several, which I have transmitted to you with this letter in a bundle containing thirty numbers. . . . He has sent you all he cou'd find, & numbered them, not in any exact order, but principly to keep them from being scattered, which he desires you will return to him at some convenient opportunity.[1]

[1] 6 Collections, iv. 93.

These thirty papers were doubtless returned to Colonel Weare, since some of them passed into the possession of his son Nathaniel Weare of Deerfield, New Hampshire, where they remained until a few years ago. Several of the Revolutionary papers of Colonel Weare are now in the Library of our Society. Others remained in the custody of Nathaniel Weare of Deerfield, and were sold in 1869 along with the old house of this son of Colonel Weare, — the purchaser being Mr. Cram of Deerfield, whose son, Dr. John W. Cram of Coleraine, now holds them. After buying the house and all its contents, Dr. Cram's father found in the attic what he describes as "a half-bushel of old papers."

Mrs. Cram wrote me, on November 6, that there are at least five hundred papers;[1] that much of the writing is difficult to decipher, in some cases impossible. There is one paper of which she could not read enough to tell what it is. This paper is four long pages, closely written, in a hand not later than 1685, which makes about seven printed pages in the first volume (525–532) of the New Hampshire "Provincial Papers," — evidently the second sheet of the long letter of William Vaughan of Portsmouth (an apprentice-merchant in London with Sir Josiah Child, the great banker, whom Vaughan calls "my master"), and in New Hampshire an important person, son-in-law of the rich merchant Richard Cutt, and of the Council. This letter was dated at Portsmouth on February 4, 1683–84, and was sent to Nathaniel Weare, agent in London of the oppressed colonists in the four towns of New Hampshire, whose petition for redress Weare carried with him signed by two hundred and nineteen colonists. Vaughan's letter gives the acts of oppression, day by day, from February 4 to April 17, 1684, and this copy of a portion of the letter seems to be in Weare's handwriting, if we may judge by the spelling, as given below:

This Daye [March 15] ye secretary was in a grete Raidge; Turned oute of all his offises exepte secretary to ye Counsell (an emty name

[1] These were papers mostly of four generations, Nathaniel, Nathaniel, Meshech, and Nathaniel of Deerfield, New Hampshire. About fifty of them were public papers, — muster-rolls of Colonel Weare's regiment, letters relating to the Revolutionary War, papers of Richard Weare and his soldiers, printed acts, treaties, votes, etc. Nearly half of the papers include those relating to land titles, wills, etc., in or near Hampton Falls, from 1690 to 1805.

Littell proffite), and the bookes sente for oute of his hands, hee is Mutch Conserned and Dejected
I am credeble informed and you Maye beleve it, yt ye Governor Did in ye open Counsell yesterdaye saye and sware Dredfully yt hee would putt ye provines in to ye Greateste Confussion and Distractyon hee could Possible & Then goe awaye and leve Them so & then the Devell take them all.
hee allso then said that m^r^ Masson said hee would Drive them into a second Rebellyon, but himselfe would Doe it before
and I wonder hee has not sutch actinges are the Redy waye but God hath Kepte us hether to and I hoope hee will Doe still Hee allso said and swore yt Anny Person yt should have anny Manner of Converse with us or Anny of our Minds, hee would Count them his utter Enemies and Carry Towards y^m^ as such

No wonder Mrs. Cram could not decipher this, as all will say who see the manuscript. The copy made, as Farmer suggests, by President Weare, one hundred and thirty years ago, must have been by one familiar with the chirography and spelling of the original letter of Vaughan's, which now seems to have been printed from a copy in the handwriting of Colonel Weare. She goes on to say, in substance:

The paper in regard to Robert Mason and Cranfield seems to be the petition of the people of Exeter, etc., and gives the number of the people who signed it, — thirty-four from Exeter, sixty-seven from Hampton, sixty from Portsmouth, and fifty-eight from Dover. It also gives the names of many men who made depositions; but the last page, that had the names of the signers, has gone, with the first page. There are hundreds of papers of deeds, bills, etc., and a good many war-papers, — lists of troops, proclamations, etc. There is the last will of Meshech Weare, and his royal commission as colonel. I find about thirty letters dated from 1775 to 1802. None are from Nathaniel Weare of Deerfield, but most of them are to him, from relatives. A number are from his brother, who was with the patriot army, and are from Saratoga, West Point, etc. One is from Meshech Weare to his wife. I have found nothing so far, bearing the name of Gove. I think the Exeter petition is in Weare's handwriting.

The find is an important one, and the New Hampshire authorities are looking after it, with a view to acquiring the papers.

The Nathaniel Weare to whom this letter of William Vaughan was sent, was born in England, in 1631, probably

at Wear-Gifford in Devon, the son of Nathaniel, who remained at home, a son of the gentle family of Weare in that hamlet and a younger brother of the Peter Weare who appears among the early settlers and Indian traders of York in Maine. Our New Hampshire Nathaniel first settled in Newbury, where in 1656 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Swayne. He lived there until 1662, when he removed to Hampton Falls, upon land granted him by his father-in-law, who had gone to Nantucket. Mrs. Weare died in 1712, and her husband in 1718, after holding all the local offices except that of royal Governor. He was twice the agent of the colonists in London to bring charges against the tyrannical Governor, Cranfield, and to attend other suits appealed to England in the long quit-rent controversy with Robert Mason concerning his ownership of lands in New Hampshire.

In his first agency he left Hampton for Boston privately, in company with Vaughan, and sailed from Boston in January, 1684, while a suit was pending against him for taxes in Hampton, which then included Hampton Falls and Seabrook. In the April following, according to this same long letter of Vaughan's, his son Peter, then twenty-three years old, was arrested upon execution for the tax levy, and this scene followed:

> No tongue can tell the horrible imperiousness and domineering carriage of that wretch [Thurton] . . .
>
> Matthews and Thurton were sent to Hampton . . . arrested seven, . . . executed upon William Sanborn, took four oxen, which were redeemed by money, drove away seven cows from Nathaniel Bachiler, went to your house; met your son Peter going with his four oxen into the woods, commanded him to turn the oxen home; he would not; they cursed, swore, drew upon him, threatened to run him through, beat him, but he did not strike again. They came to your house, were shut out, your wife fearfully scared for fear of her son who was out with them. At length she let them in, laid three pounds on the table which they took, and then levied on several young cattle, but released and left them. Your son came hither to advise, but complaining is bootless, such a dismal case are we in.[1]

Upon the 2d of January, 1685, this "wretch" had a taste of what others could do in the way of "horrible imperiousness." He testified that he was thrown down, tied hand and

[1] New Hampshire Provincial Papers, i. 532, 533.

foot, had his sword taken away, with four pounds in money; then two persons, Joseph Perkins and Jacob Bassford, living in Hampton, not far from the Bachiler farm where Daniel Webster's grandmother, Susanna Bachiler, was born, took the officer in charge, untied his legs and drove him along the causeway toward Seabrook and Salisbury. Thurston in his deposition says:

said persons did grievously beat him, upon which this deponent cried murder in the hearing and seeing of several persons on horseback, about nine at night, inhabitants of Hampton, but not any one did rescue him out of their hands. Then a person coming from the town of Hampton, supposed to be a stranger, upon a horse, the aforesaid Perkins and Bassford said, "Stand, you dog — come not near at your peril!" Then one of them, to wit, Perkins, went to that man, seemingly to whisper to him, and then the stranger and Perkins came up to this deponent, and Perkins and Bassford said, "We press your horse for his Majesty's service, and we have a commission for it;" at which the stranger said, "What hath this man done?" Perkins and the other replied, "He was a rogue and thief, and would not go." And then, his hands and legs being tied, they flung him, . . . across the horse, and in that manner carried him about a quarter of a mile. And this deponent, being in extreme pain and near death, it being, beside, a very cold, frosty night, he did pray those persons, for the sake of God, to let him ride upon the horse, and then let them carry him where they pleased. Afterward, they untied his legs and let him ride upon their horse, his legs tied under the horse's belly, and carried him out of the Province, there being two other persons that followed on horseback some distance all the way, and kept him in custody at the house of one Smith, belonging to the town of Salisbury, under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts government, about forty hours, and then left him; and that the next day, being Saturday, about eight in the morning, he did see Samuel Sherborn and Jonathan Wedgewood, in the town of Salisbury, riding by the house of the said Smith.[1]

The inference is strong that these two Hampton men were the two horsemen that followed the unwilling cavalier at some distance, and that the "stranger" was their confederate, who had allowed his horse to be "pressed" and had gone home to Hampton on foot. During these violent proceedings, Weare

[1] New Hampshire Provincial Papers, i. 554. The name Barefoot in the original is correctly printed here Bassford. Belknap and others misread Bassford's name. No Barefoot, except Walter, ever lived in New Hampshire.

was in London, pressing the case against Cranfield, who was soon forced to resign; and my ancestor, Edward Gove, a neighbor of Weare, was lying in the Tower of London under sentence of death for treason, while his estate in Seabrook was confiscated, and Cranfield had pocketed his share of the proceeds. Before Weare returned home, Gove was pardoned by the new king, James II., at the instance of Lord Halifax and Weare, and in 1686 his estate was restored to him, and he died in his own house, after nearly three years in the Tower.

It is probable that the newly found papers contain some mention of Gove; but the papers in his case were obtained by Ebenezer Hazard, the correspondent of Belknap, as early as 1781, and were lent by him to Belknap for use in his "History of New Hampshire." Belknap, returning them, March 20, 1782, writes:

> From the evidence at his trial (which I have at large) his actions amounted to a riot; but to indict him for treason, and hurry on his trial as they did, with the sentence, imprisonment, confiscation, and transportation that followed, was cruel and scandalous. . . . I know one of his grandsons, who was a very warm brother in the time of the Stamp Act, . . . I fancy he is a chip of the old block.[1]

The PRESIDENT announced that, in accordance with Article 4, Chapter XIII., of the By-Laws, the Council had appointed Mr. Worthington C. Ford to be "immediately responsible for the proper editing of all volumes, whether of Collections or Proceedings, the supervision of the Society's copyists, and the adequate preparation of all material intended for the press"; and that Mr. Ford would enter upon the discharge of his duties at the beginning of January next.

The PRESIDENT also announced that the commemoration of the tercentenary of the birth of John Milton by the Society would be a Boston celebration of the event; that as such it would be public and be held in the First Church edifice on Berkeley Street, on December 9, taking the place of the regular monthly meeting of the Society; and further that the Council had appointed Mr. Norcross and Mr. Mead to cooperate with him as a committee to arrange the details of the commemoration.

[1] 5 Collections, ii. 122, 123.

The PRESIDENT then said:

With a deep sense of personal loss, I announce the death of our associate Charles Eliot Norton. He died in the early morning hours of Wednesday, October 21, in the house in Cambridge in which he was born, November 16, 1827. Chosen a Resident Member of the Society at the June meeting of 1860, Professor Norton had at the time of his death rounded out over forty-eight years of association with us; and, since the death of Dr. Paige in September, 1896, his name had in order of seniority stood second on our roll. Dr. Hale, chosen seven months only after Professor Norton, now takes the place thus vacated.

Of Professor Norton, his character, his work, and his ideals, it is not for me now and here to speak. Leaving this to others, I shall, in accordance with our usage in these cases, strictly confine myself to a statement of his active connection with the Society, his contributions to its collections and the part taken by him in our proceedings. In the first place, however, let me premise that Professor Norton was neither an historian nor, strictly speaking, an historical investigator. Chosen into the Society at a comparatively early age, and most fitly, but on general considerations, while the editor of many publications not without historical connection and value, he was essentially the exponent of culture. His was the great field of art, of taste and discrimination. He judged of things, not from the historical point of view, but morally and æsthetically. His standards were high, his sympathies wide, his criticism catholic rather than hard, his taste delicate. A man of refinement, he was in his every fibre a gentleman. He, too, had Character.[1]

Chosen a member in the heat and amid the tumult of the presidential canvass which resulted in the first election of Abraham Lincoln and culminated in the Civil War, Mr. Norton died just as the similar canvass of the present year, very different in its issues and outcome, was drawing to a close. His membership thus covered a period destined to loom large in history; and in all its occurrences and developments, whether here or in Europe and the older eastern world, Professor Norton ever took a keen and intelligent interest: but he did

[1] 2 Proceedings, viii. 408; xi. 104.

not frequently write of them from any historical point of view. Otherwise actively occupied during the years of our Civil War (1861–1865), only three times does his name appear in connection with either our proceedings or our publications of that period. One of these occasions also is obviously connected with the interest he took in the struggle then in progress; for, at the meeting of August 14, 1862, he moved the appointment of a special committee to print Mr. George Livermore's exhaustive paper, then recently submitted to the Society, entitled "An Historical Research respecting the Opinions of the Founders of the Republic on Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens, and as Soldiers."[1] A little more than a year later, June 11, 1863, he communicated extracts from an Orderly Book of the Revolutionary Army; also a letter of Washington to Joseph Reed, dated June 23, 1777.[2]

At the Annual Meeting of April, 1864, Mr. Norton, as he then was, was chosen a member of the Standing Committee of the Council. As such, he served one year. During the six following years his name does not appear as a contributor. In 1870, however, the President communicated a letter from Mr. Norton relative to the photographic copies of three letters of Columbus presented by him at the preceding meeting.[3] In the years that ensued up to 1882 he made various gifts, and submitted several communications. Among the gifts was a cast in plaster of the face of Cromwell taken from the original Thomas Carlyle mask, thought to be the best likeness of the great Protector. In doing so he read to the Society a letter from Carlyle in relation to this mask.[4] At the May meeting, 1882, he communicated extracts from letters from Charles Darwin to himself, containing interesting facts about the friendship which had existed between Benjamin Franklin and Darwin's father.[5]

There is no record of Professor Norton in connection with the proceedings of the Society during the following thirteen years. At the meeting in October, 1895, mention is made of a tribute he then paid to William W. Story, his life-long friend; and again, in January, 1902, he submitted a paper on Mr. Story at the meeting at which the bust of Mr. Story, now in the vestibule of this building, was presented to the Society

[1] 1 Proceedings, vi. 86–248; [2] vii. 132–138.
[3] 1 Proceedings, xi. 197, 223, 224; [4] xiii. 450; [5] xix. 311, 312.

by the artist's son.[1] At the May meeting, 1903, Professor Norton presented copies of eighty-one letters addressed to Richard Price by various correspondents of high distinction, from 1767 to 1790, and rich in contemporaneous accounts of important events. They appear in our printed Proceedings.[2] His last appearance here was in February, a year ago, when he favored the Society with remarks suggested by the approaching centennial of the birth of his intimate friend of many years, the poet Longfellow.

Numerous other references to incidental remarks made by Professor Norton at meetings of the Society are to be found; but they were never reduced to writing, and consequently do not appear in our published Proceedings. The accessions book of the Society also contains entries recording many gifts made by him to the Library.

This record has a meagre sound; it will, however, be conceded by all who have taken an active interest in the Society, and in what has transpired whether in this room or in the similar Dowse room in Tremont Street, during the last thirty years, that Mr. Norton is fairly numbered among our most useful as well as influential members. His death creates a void in our ranks not likely soon to be made good. His direct activities did not count perhaps as large in connection with our work; but it will be long before we cease to feel the absence of that weight which was insensibly given here to his character and standing, emphasizing his every utterance.

Professor WENDELL said that before he had been called on to pay tribute here to the memory of Professor Norton, he had prepared a memoir of him for publication elsewhere. Instead of repeating or paraphrasing this, he asked leave to read a portion of it suitable to this occasion. After premising that the earlier passages were somewhat anecdotic and tended to set forth the inspiring quality of Professor Norton's friendship among the students who had come within his influence, he proceeded as follows:

That way lay the power most wonderfully his, — not in creation, not in isolation of conscientious standard, not even in unswerving faithfulness to unrelinquished ideals. Apart

[1] 2 Proceedings, xv. 368-371; [2] xvii. 262-378.

as his spirit may sometimes have seemed to linger from the inexorable infirmities of earthly circumstance, fantastic or at best fastidious as the æsthetic purity of its aspiration may sometimes have made it appear, its unique force sprang from its faculty of communion. This was constantly shown at Harvard in his relations with the students who sat under his teaching, or with little groups who knew the inspiration of his encouragement. Had it gone no further, the presence of him on earth would have been justified. And yet, in times to come, every trace of his academic career may fade from human memory without menace to the endurance of his fame. We have only to remember the tributes paid him far and wide when they bore him to his grave, a little while ago, in the eighty-first year of his age. Hardly a child in the English-speaking world but has thus been reminded how, throughout his time, he was greatly and equally the friend of men themselves held great.

Inevitably this must sometimes have seemed to imply in him some shade rather of weakness than of strength. Carlyle, Ruskin, Matthew Arnold, and Rudyard Kipling have creative individuality, beyond peradventure, each in his peculiar way; so, in our own country, have Emerson, and Longfellow, and Lowell, and Howells. Godkin had it, and George William Curtis; Arthur Clough and Leslie Stephen. The names come at random; the list of his friends might lengthen long, and never unworthily. Throughout, it would remind us of their achievements, so various that we may well marvel how he could reconcile such excellent divergences in the happy communion of his friendship. Uncompromising though he were, we can begin to feel him nobly flexible in his generous recognition of aspiration. To the present through which he lived he was at once as severe and as open-hearted as to the past which he taught himself so comprehensively to understand. In both alike he sought excellence; in both he gave it greeting sure to evoke loyal response, from the admirers of the dead, and from the hearts of the living. No man ever dwelt amid a nobler company. When we repeat their names, and utter his beside them, it is no marvel that theirs sound the more memorable; that his, sweet and pure though the note of it be, sounds in some manner secondary.

So let it stay, if you will; yet there is another side to all

this. Of the past, such reflection must forever seem recurrently true. The human generations can never quite lose that piety which makes each believe itself of lesser stature than the fathers. But if we ponder, for never so short a while, on the fifty years of his maturity, we can hardly fail to perceive that throughout them he was unique, at least in England and America. To tell why, we may best turn, perhaps, to the analogy of music. Grant that others than he struck the higher notes, instantly accosting the ear, vibrating clearest in memory. Liken his part, if you will, to that of one who should sustain pure notes or melodies, themselves almost wavering into thinness, with firm and vibrant undertones. Recognize that enduring spiritual harmonies demand the full strength of such undertones, to uphold the seemingly higher strains, dominant by reason of their distinctness rather than of their volume. Reverently admit that we need both players alike, neither sufficient alone. And then, turning back from the mist of metaphor, remember how many utterances, various in all things but nobility of aspiration, were sustained, all his life long, by the vibrant undertone of his friendship. Seek, and you shall not find a single one, among the seemingly greater about him, ignobly distorted by his companionship; seek, and you shall find almost all happily the stronger for it. If a life like his have not true greatness, of its own gracious kind, then there has never been any approach to greatness in our modern world. For it was given to him to sound far and wide the noblest undertones of our ancestral spirit throughout the culminating period of the nineteenth century.

Those three words — our ancestral spirit — bring us home to our New England, where he was born, and lived, and died in his father's house, itself embodying the simplicity and the dignity of the generation ancestral to him. The spirit would not be ours if it were ours alone. There are fibres of it filming from the primal glory of Greece and from the imperial grandeur of Rome. Intermingled with them are fibres from the cloudy and fiery antiquity of the Hebrews, and from the divine humanity of Christian story. There is barbarian strength and candor in it as well; and all the mystic aspiration of the Middle Ages, striving towards the unearthly realization of a Holy Roman Empire. Chivalry has part in it, and saint-hood; Normans, too, have theirs, and Saxons, and Celts.

The Renaissance has thrilled it with culture, wakened from the sleep of a thousand years. The Reformation has stirred its depths, with tremendous faith that human sight may penetrate the veil which enshrouds divinity. Together these forces surged throughout the England of Queen Elizabeth.

And then our New England was planted, rude and solitary in its beginnings, a seed on the coasts of a continent unsubdued to the use of man. And it stayed rooted through generations aspiring towards righteousness with all the concentration of faithfully accepted Puritanism. Theocracy struggled and fell. The Revolution severed us from the Mother Country. Our Federal Republic was born, and grew, and strengthened. New England, still remote and narrow, persevered in righteous purpose; and from the seed of its persistent leaders there had come unperceived into being a race for a little while apart. Then, with the full nineteenth century, came the season of its efflorescence, and, if so must be, of its passing. Theology broke free from ancient shackles. For a while hope ran high that enfranchisement of the spirit should bring enduring enlightenment to all the future.

The whole nineteenth century is history now, like the centuries before it. To the world at large, the story of it stretches so vast that our New England, aspiring and fated, may soon fade forgotten. To us, the while, lingering in these parts, and to our children's children, the spirit of New England stays, and shall stay, ancestral — a noble sequel to the phases of the spirit from which its life was drawn, a noble forerunner, like each of them, for the still unrevealed spirit of the days to come. For us the nineteenth century of New England has unique virtue. Even though the men who embodied it may never loom great in the full story of humanity, the loftier among them, bred through generations of aspiring leadership, attained a height of distinction rare throughout human record. It was not only that in their final ripeness they had gentle distinction of bodily presence. More still, they were graced with the ineffable distinction of spiritual purity. That is what our ancestral spirit means to us of New England. From the heart of it came the vibrant certainty of Norton's marvellous undertone.

Mr. STOREY spoke of Professor Norton as follows:

I can hope to add but little to what has been said so well, but I would not be altogether silent, for I had the highest respect and the warmest regard for Mr. Norton. His death takes from us a figure of rare distinction and severs almost the last link between the present day and the Golden Age of New England. The half-century which began in 1830 was a period of peculiar intellectual and moral ferment on both sides of the ocean, and it was especially fruitful in this community. It was then that Emerson "kept burning the beacon of an ideal life above our lower region of turmoil"; that Sumner, Phillips, Lowell, Whittier, and Theodore Parker were battling for freedom; that Hawthorne was telling his wonderful stories, and Holmes was delighting us with his poetry, his humor, and his charming philosophy. In England Carlyle, Ruskin, Cobden, Bright, and many another were fighting for reform, and the air in Europe was full of revolution. It was a period rich in statesmen, orators, scholars, poets, novelists, and thinkers whose names will occur to you all. It was a fortunate time in which to live.

Mr. Norton entered fully into the life of his day. Happy in his birth, he inherited a taste for literature and art, a sympathy with high thinking, and he was nurtured in an atmosphere which developed his tastes and sympathies. He had a natural genius for friendship, and few men of his day had so close an acquaintance with the best in America and England. Carlyle and Ruskin, Emerson, Lowell, Curtis, Schurz, Godkin, and a host of others were his friends, and he was in thorough sympathy with their aims. He was a scholar, a critic, a teacher, a lover of truth. He saw clearly, and he could not help maintaining his ideals. He stated the truth as he saw it, forcibly, but temperately, and he never descended to personality or vituperation. He had rare moral courage and never shrank from speaking for fear of any consequence to himself.

He was a firm believer in democracy and he never faltered in supporting it. During the Civil War his pen and his counsel rendered important service to the country. His aid and advice helped largely to found and maintain "The Nation," which has done so much to uphold high standards in politics and literature. When the Spanish War ended, he was among the first to insist that victory should not tempt us

to abandon our principles, and he opposed the Philippine policy of the Republican party to the last.

As a teacher at Harvard he strove unceasingly to cultivate in his pupils pure tastes, high ambitions, and the desire for what is best in life, and through them he made an enduring impression upon the next generation.

As a friend he was always wise in counsel, sympathetic and helpful. His conversation was enriched by the results of extended travel, varied acquaintance with men, and great reading, and no one was a more delightful companion. He carried with him an atmosphere of serenity and simplicity which was yet inspiring, for he spoke with assured faith and not with doubt or despair. It is not surprising that under his roof were to be found the choicest spirits who visited or dwelt in this neighborhood.

He was a man of great public spirit, sincere, brave, and courteous. He belonged to a group of remarkable men, the intellectual and moral leaders of their time, of whom he was almost the last survivor. With him passes away a fine type of the best that New England can produce, and a voice is stilled that in a material age has never ceased to plead for the highest ideals of politics, of conduct, and of life. We mourn an irreparable loss.

William Endicott then told of Professor Norton's devoted work in connection with the New England Loyal Publication Society:

I am asked to say a few words about a part of the life of our late associate which is very little known to the present generation; and, while not the most distinguished part, it was one which he always regarded with peculiar satisfaction. I refer to his connection with the New England Loyal Publication Society during the years of the Civil War and a short time afterward.

In friendly coöperation with a similar organization in New York, the two societies were formed in 1862. The purpose was to influence public opinion throughout the country, avoiding partisan bias, in favor of all loyal efforts for the suppression of the Rebellion, strengthening the government in its war policies and financial measures, and encouraging all efforts tending to the abolition of slavery.

The work of the New York society was mainly in the publication and largely gratuitous circulation of documents, reports, and speeches; while the Boston society undertook to tone up the loyal sentiment of the North and West through the newspaper press, by the publication of a broadside each week which was regularly sent to nine hundred newspapers with full permission, after giving credit for extracts from other papers, to use all original matter as editorial without giving credit for it. In this way the editor of the broadsides was practically editing a large portion of the country press. The papers were required to send copies to the Boston office; and it was not unusual to find six or eight and sometimes a dozen of our contributions in a single paper. The office was in Studio Building, corner of Tremont and Bromfield streets.

The officers of the Society were John M. Forbes, president, William Endicott, Jr., treasurer, James B. Thayer, secretary, and the executive committee, Charles Eliot Norton, Edward Atkinson, Martin Brimmer, Edward E. Hale, Henry B. Rogers, William B. Rogers, and Samuel G. Ward. Contributions were welcomed from any source, but the laboring oar was held by Mr. Norton as editor, who, beside contributing largely of his own writings, decided what should appear in the weekly broadside.

The newspapers that were sent to the office were carefully scanned to keep in touch with the currents of public opinion, especially at the West, and to get suggestions for subjects for the next broadside. Much of this latter work was done by James B. Thayer, then a young man, later Professor in the Law School of Harvard University. I remember also that Professor Francis J. Child, of Cambridge, was much interested and was frequently at the office with contributions of his own. Of course this was entirely gratuitous service on the part of these gentlemen; and it involved a great deal of work, especially for Mr. Norton, who devoted to it a large portion of his time for about four years.

There can be no question, I think, as to the value of this service and its important influence in moulding the public opinion of the North, which President Lincoln watched so carefully and which he so much desired to push him along in his carefully considered path. The quality of these weekly contributions was vastly superior to anything which the editors

could write; and, as they must have been read by some hundreds of thousands each week, it is evident that so much is seldom accomplished at so small a cost, which was but four or five thousand dollars a year, contributed by subscriptions from loyal citizens.

A few years ago Professor Norton deposited his collection of broadsides in the Boston Public Library. Our library contains a set, nearly complete; and another set is in the Library of Congress, Washington.

Throughout his long life Professor Norton continued to maintain an active interest in public affairs. He held strong convictions on all subjects, and did not hesitate to express them freely, whether in accordance with, or contrary to, the current opinion of the time. The country is the poorer when so devoted and so patriotic a citizen drops out of the grand procession.

Rev. Dr. HALE, who was unavoidably absent, sent the following memorandum about Professor Norton's work during the Civil War:

No man did more solid work for the Republic in the days of trial than Mr. Norton did in editing the weekly issues of the New England Loyal Publication Society. Mrs. Hughes has given a full account of this little society in her memoirs of John Murray Forbes, who founded it. She says, "My father used to say that he accomplished more in this way than in any other during the war"; and she says "in its practical management the whole thing gradually grew into a regular publication issued once a week. This was under the charge of Mr. C. E. Norton, now Professor Norton of Harvard University."

Mr. Forbes had been in the habit, in his own office, of sending out hundreds of printed slips for patriotic purposes, all over the country, and through Governor Andrew to the Army. This work became too much for a man as busy as he was, and he formed this society. The executive committee used to meet at the house of Martin Brimmer. More than once, unless my memory fails me, certainly once, Ralph Waldo Emerson met with us. The committee determined that once a week a broadside should be sent to newspapers in the northern

States, or wherever else they would be of use. Each of these broadsides was, in fact, a newspaper, printed on one side only, so that the scissors could be used without difficulty. It contained short articles and long, original and selected, such as Mr. Norton, the editor, thought might serve the purpose of the editors who should receive them, for transfers to their own journals. The broadside had no subscribers and was sent gratuitously. A hard-pressed editor in the country, who wanted to fill ten lines, could cut out ten lines which were ready for him; or, if there were columns to fill, there were columns ready. If by some strange accident our English friends of that day said the right thing, that would be reprinted in the broadside; or, if Mr. Emerson wrote a good article, Mr. Norton would print it.

I am afraid he did not use for general circulation a capital paper by Mr. Emerson, written for the Connecticut canvass of 1863. It is worth remembering that the New England Plato was not above active interference of this sort with the work of the time. It would not do to say that Mr. Norton edited the local press of the northern States for the last two years of the war. But his contributions to it, whether original or selected, were beyond doubt much larger than those of any other single man. The New England Loyal Publication Society proved its usefulness; and to Mr. Forbes and to Mr. Norton the credit for its great work is largely due.

Col. T. W. Higginson then spoke of the lessons taught and the lessons learned by Professor Norton:

I have been invited to say something this afternoon in regard to one of our oldest and most distinguished fellow members and my earliest playmate and friend, the late Charles Eliot Norton. Much has already been written about him from different sources, — the fullest delineator of his life and services having been one of our own members. I shall not, therefore, take up much of your time and shall devote that little wholly to a point of view which has not yet, as I think, been handled by any one. We have chiefly given our attention, as was right, to what Norton did for his country, but something needs now to be said in turn for that which this country did, in the meanwhile, for him.

The day has always been strongly fixed in my mind, although I cannot give the precise date of it, when I resumed acquaintance in maturity with my childish playmate and found him sitting beside me after twenty-five years or more of separation, at a public dinner, probably in Boston. He had but lately returned from Europe, in 1855, I think, to become a permanent resident, not having yet attained prominence as a public leader. During these years of absence he had been mainly in foreign countries, and I had not yet crossed the ocean, so that we were soon comparing notes. I remember vividly this conversation. He took very strongly the ground that this nation was the most interesting place in the world in which to live, were it only for the sake of seeing the mass of people comfortable, probably more so as a whole than any nation in the world had ever been. The drawback was, he went on to say, that the American continent was not destined to achieve any distinction at any time in literature or in art. When I asked why not, he tranquilly said that it would be a geographical impossibility. No nation on the American continent which stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific could ever be intellectually great, but only physically comfortable. For science and art, he said, we must look to countries penetrated by gulfs, bays, and rivers, and interrupted by mountains, so that all could communicate easily with each other as in Europe. Here, on the other hand, was a vast continent not provided with such internal communications except to a very limited extent and separated by a whole ocean from all European countries; while in those countries opportunities for mutual intercourse were abundant. Here, on the contrary, there was only a wide interior region, as yet uninhabited, except by savages and much of it probably a desert and destined to remain such. This appeared to be his sole point of view at that day. How shall we explain the fact?

We shall begin to understand it by remembering the statement made by Charles Godfrey Leland that in the year 1848, which was somewhat before the time of my talk with Norton, it had taken him (Leland) forty-three days to cross the Atlantic on an ordinary voyage; that tells a large part of the story. Now it takes less than a week to cross the ocean, and not much longer than this to cross the continent. It was long after this before Emerson made his partially consoling suggestion,

"Europe stretches to the Alleghanies." There was, however, a period when Emerson himself, in his first lecturing tour in what was then called the Far West, found printed on the tickets of admission at one place, "*Tickets to Emerson and the ball, one dollar*," so that men, women, and children coming from long distances could all have something to amuse them. It was at a period when I saw a handbill printed in Indiana in which Mr. J. Jackson offered to read Hamlet for twenty-five cents, ladies free, with the understanding that after the reading he would develop a plan for the formation of a company for the manufacture of silk handkerchiefs, and would relate some incidents of his early life in connection with "this particular article." Norton's limitation was that he was speaking more than ten years in advance of the first overland railway train, which crossed in 1869; and Gail Hamilton was more foreseeing than he when she said that "if there were never to be railroads, it would have been a real impertinence for Columbus to have discovered this continent."

All this truth was for Norton to discover, and he lived to show that he had done just that, and accepted so nobly the work devolving upon him that he stayed in his native land for the rest of his life with only one brief absence. He even went so magnificently and almost incredibly far as to write to a western friend, when in his eightieth year, that if his life were to be lived again, he thought that he should like to live it in Chicago, because he seemed to see working there, in all the welter of vulgarity and commercialism, a power for good that would in time come to its own. Words of more utter self-devotion than this, I suspect, none of his early playmates could rival: I know one of them who never got so far; but such were Norton's words. The New World had learned much from him and in its turn had taught him much. With all his varied and delightful culture, the more we study this man's career, the more we find it based on the simplest and clearest foundations, resting, as in Wordsworth's formula, on "a few strong instincts and a few plain rules."

Professor HAYNES paid the closing tribute to Professor Norton as follows:

In all the appreciative tributes that have been paid to-day to Professor Norton, there has been no recognition of what

seems to me to have been one of the most far-reaching of all his varied activities. I refer to the fact that he was practically the founder of the Archæological Institute of America, a society that has revolutionized the teaching of Greek and Latin in this country. To-day no young man can receive an appointment to a professorship of either of those languages in one of our universities or larger colleges who has not had the advantage of a course of study in one of the schools for classical studies which the Institute has established, either at Athens or at Rome. To the vivifying influences of the instruction there received, I believe, it is mainly due that the study of Greek has retained its place in the *curricula* of our colleges. No one can overestimate the consequences to the intellectual culture of the United States.

As there is no one present, but myself, who was concerned in the initiation of this movement, since Professor Goodwin unfortunately is not able to be here to-day, I have felt that this occasion should not be allowed to pass without some recognition of the leading part which Professor Norton took in bringing about such important results.

When I was in Athens, in the spring of 1877, I was often asked why such a wealthy country as the United States was not represented there by a school for classical studies, like those of Germany and France. I little thought that in five years' time such a school would be opened there on October 2, 1882, under the superintendence of our associate Professor Goodwin. The first step in organizing the Archæological Institute was a meeting of more than one hundred persons in this city, on May 10, 1879, at which an executive committee of seven was chosen with Professor Norton as president. Only about thirty of those persons are still living, and of the executive committee only Professors Alexander Agassiz, William R. Ware, and myself. Professor Norton's active exertions in the interest of the Institute never ceased to the end of his life, and he continued to serve as its president until 1890.

The twenty-eighth annual report of the Council of the Institute, published last year, records its incorporation by Act of Congress, January 2, 1907, and contains the reports of the Schools of Classical and Oriental Studies, founded by it at Athens, Rome, and Palestine, with lists of the eighteen hundred and thirty-four members of the twenty-three affiliated

societies which make up the body of the Institute, organized all over the length and breadth of our land, from Boston to San Francisco and Kansas City. Certainly the study of the ancient languages cannot be said to be declining in our country.

Time only permits me to allude to the other branch of the activities of the Institute, which has so successfully appealed to the generosity of our people, — the exploration carried on under its auspices of sites, like Assos and Corinth and others in the Old World, or in the southwestern regions of the United States and in Mexico.

Little could our friend have anticipated "what fruit would spring from such a seed."

The PRESIDENT then announced the death of Dr. Daniel Coit Gilman. In doing so, he said it was not usual to call for any response in announcement of the death of a Corresponding Member. In view of the eminence of Dr. Gilman, and the great respect in which he was held, he would, however, make an exception in this case by asking Dr. Gilman's classmate and life-long friend, Mr. Crapo, to place on our records a brief appreciation of him.

In reply Mr. CRAPO said:

I gladly avail myself of the opportunity here to pay my tribute to Daniel Coit Gilman. He was my college classmate, and during our four years' course there was no companionship more intimate and no friendship stronger than that which existed between us, and this has continued these many years. He was an excellent scholar, although not ambitious for the high marks necessary to secure a valedictory honor, an honor sometimes obtained at the sacrifice of a broader education. He was alive to all the activities of the college and of the class. He was a steady-going, diligent, well-balanced student. Upon leaving college he had in contemplation the preparation of a new English Lexicon, a task which he thought would occupy him many years. In this he was encouraged by Professor Goodrich, the son-in-law of Noah Webster, who had edited several editions of Webster's Dictionary. In pursuance of this purpose he came to Cambridge, where he remained a year or more.

About that time President Franklin Pierce appointed

Thomas H. Seymour, a respectable lawyer of Hartford, Minister to Russia. Mr. Seymour had served in the Mexican War as colonel of the Connecticut Regiment as did Caleb Cushing as colonel of the Massachusetts Regiment, and Franklin Pierce as colonel of the New Hampshire Regiment. In the Mexican campaigns Colonel Seymour displayed conspicuous bravery. On his return to Connecticut he was greeted with much applause and great ovations. He was made Governor of his State and was three times re-elected to that office. It was natural that his comrades in war, President Franklin Pierce and Attorney-General Cushing, should desire for him further honors. Governor Seymour was not a diplomat by training or experience, and in going to his new post he desired a friendly companionship which might at times be of assistance to him. He invited two young men fresh from college to accompany him to St. Petersburg. They were Daniel C. Gilman and Andrew D. White, both of whom subsequently became Corresponding Members of this Society. I do not remember what official position, if any, these two men held in the legation, but their duties were not pressing, and much of their leisure time was devoted to making themselves familiar with European universities, their courses of study and methods of instruction.

How far this accidental sojourn abroad, undertaken at the outset as an agreeable vacation, influenced the future careers of these two men, is a matter of conjecture. On their return to the United States Mr. White went to Ann Arbor, where he was eminently successful as an instructor; and afterwards he was employed by Ezra Cornell in the formation of Cornell University. Mr. Gilman went to New Haven, where he became librarian, and held other offices in the college to the great satisfaction of the faculty and students. Later he was appointed President of the University of California, in which position he demonstrated his ability and attracted the attention of educators. When the Johns Hopkins Fund became available, its trustees, seeking a suitable person to execute the will of the donor in the establishment of an educational institution, selected President Gilman. In preparation for this task he went abroad for a year or two, studying the universities of Europe, comparing, analyzing, and balancing their merits. On his return to Baltimore he had in mind an insti-

tution distinct from any existing American college or university, whose purpose would be to furnish to the graduates of such colleges or universities facilities for advanced study in special branches of knowledge. The success of Johns Hopkins University is well known. It was essentially the creation of President Gilman.

The qualities which led to his success were patient, painstaking, persistent application and complete thoroughness of work. He was a good man to work with. His enthusiasm inspired his associates; his example of untiring devotion to whatever task he had in hand stimulated those about him. Whatever rank may be accorded to President Gilman in scholarship, I venture to say that few have surpassed him in the field of investigation, of organization, and of administration. This is shown not only by what he did at Johns Hopkins, but in the organization of the Carnegie Institution and the management of the Peabody and Slater funds and the many other positions of trust and service which were assigned to him.

He was a sincere and unselfish man. He was prominent in many reform movements. He had no liking for controversy. He relied upon clearness of statement and strength of argument; and as a reformer he never indulged in denunciation of those who honestly differed with him about methods. His native gentleness of spirit and his sweetness of disposition made that impossible.

In any review of the life of Dr. Gilman its notable feature must be the exceptional and successful service which he rendered in the promotion of higher education, of social and political reforms, and of genuine philanthropy.

Mr. STOREY then said:

As I am probably the person in the room who last saw Dr. Gilman alive, it may interest you to know that I left him last August in a lovely garden on the shores of Lake Thun, with beautiful flowers about him, with sweet music in his ears, and with the wonderful panorama of the Alps spread out before his eyes. He was looking back upon a pleasant journey, and forward to some weeks of rest in this peaceful place. His work was over and well done, he was free from care or pain, his mind was clear and bright, and the evening

of his life was unclouded and serene. He came home some weeks afterward, and then died in an instant without suffering, leaving behind him no memories which any friend would wish to change. "For the end of that man is peace."

In conclusion, Mr. SCHOULER, a Corresponding Member, spoke as follows:

For seventeen years it has been my privilege to meet the late President Gilman every spring at Baltimore, in connection with my duties there, and to enjoy his generous confidence. The press, the public, learned societies like ours, have done justice to his great creative skill and accomplishment in the cause of our higher education. Only one of his contemporaries has ranked with him on the same lofty level or been brought into close comparison with him, and that is our own distinguished President Eliot of Harvard.

What has impressed me, however, as unique in President Gilman's character, with all his greatness, has been his entire freedom from pride or presumptuousness, his unassuming manners, his simple, easy and genial intercourse both with instructors and students. His tact and lightness of touch in administration made all work smoothly under him, and stimulated each one to put forth his best. For every one whom he met there was the same suave and pleasant address, notwithstanding which he held the reins of government firmly and understood well his own purpose.

He was always ready to accost each one with pleasant words, and even to praise where praise was admissible. Indeed, it has been said of him, as the nearest perhaps to a fault of character, that he was disposed to flatter. But upon that point I studied him closely, having been early forewarned; and my firm conviction is that all such tendency, if it existed, was due to real kindness of heart and the desire to invite friendship and show his appreciation of zealous effort; and that his noble nature was free from all insincerity, while as for duplicity of any sort no trace of such baseness was in him.

The President called attention to the new volume of Proceedings, third series, Volume I., containing the minutes of meetings from April, 1907, to June, 1908, both included, which was ready for distribution to members.

MEMOIR

OF

ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

By SAMUEL A. GREEN.

Abbott Lawrence, the third and youngest son of Abbott and Katharine (Bigelow) Lawrence, was born in Boston on September 9, 1828. At that time his father's family was living in Somerset Street, and the site of his birthplace is now covered by the Suffolk Court House. On his father's side he had descended from Revolutionary ancestry and from old New England stock who had made their home in Groton for several generations; and on his mother's side he came equally from Revolutionary ancestry and of a family distinguished in various walks of life. His grandfather Lawrence served in the Continental army, and was present at the battle of Bunker Hill. His great-grandfather Bigelow was a zealous patriot, and was colonel of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment, which took part in the capture of General Burgoyne at Saratoga on October 17, 1777. His grandfather Bigelow, a prominent lawyer of Groton, was Speaker of the House of Representatives for eleven years, though not in succession. No other member has ever filled the office for so long a period of time. It is said, on the authority of Lemprière's Universal Biography (New York, 1825), that in the course of thirty-two years of practice he had argued fifteen thousand cases before various courts.

As a lad of sixteen Mr. Lawrence's father came to Boston and was placed as an apprentice in the mercantile house of an elder brother (Amos Lawrence). During the next five years, by close application and by fidelity to his work, he prepared himself for larger responsibilities, so much so that just after he became of age he went into partnership with his brother. In this way the firm of A. & A. Lawrence was founded, which for more than half a century was to stand as a tower of strength in

the business world of Boston. A few years later two other brothers (William and Samuel) also came to the city and engaged in mercantile affairs and manufacturing enterprises; and all four met with a success that was somewhat exceptional. Luther, the eldest brother of the five, graduated with honor at Harvard College in the Class of 1801, studied law, and for many years practised his profession at Groton, and was sent to the Legislature, where he was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives. An interesting feature in his domestic life was the fact that he married a sister of the Hon. Timothy Bigelow, while his brother Abbott married a daughter of Mr. Bigelow. In other words, by this marriage he became uncle to his brother; and as each one had a large family, at times it was amusing to trace the exact kinship between their children. Later this brother Luther removed from Groton to the new town of Lowell, where he practised law, and subsequently became mayor of the city. One day while showing a friend and kinsman over a mill then in process of construction, in which he was interested, he stumbled and fell into the wheel-pit, and thus lost his life, on April 17, 1839, during the second year of his mayoralty.

The town of Lawrence, incorporated on April 17, 1847, and as a city on March 29, 1853, was so named after these four brothers, one (Luther) of the five being dead. They all had large manufacturing interests elsewhere as well as in the new settlement. The youngest brother (Samuel) lived in Lowell, on the banks of the Merrimack, only a few miles away, and almost daily he visited the "new city," as it was called, in order to take a general oversight of the work then going on there. Thus in the neighborhood at an early period the name of Lawrence became associated with the place.

Abbott Lawrence, the subject of this memoir, studied for a year or two at the Chauncy-Hall School; but before he went to college he was placed under the charge of Mr. Thomas G. Bradford (H. C. 1822) as a private tutor. From him he received his later preparatory instruction, and by him he was offered for examination to the authorities of Harvard College on August 25 and 26, 1845, and was duly admitted to the Freshman class of that institution, in which he graduated four years later. It may be worthy of note that six of that class

have been chosen members of the Historical Society; and, furthermore, that the class, with one exception, is the largest that had ever graduated at Harvard before that time. Mr. Everett was president of the College from February 5, 1846, to February 1, 1849; and the Class of 1849 passed nearly the whole of its academic course under his administration.

Mr. Lawrence's father, though never a pronounced partisan, had been somewhat prominent as a Whig politician, having been chosen for two terms, but not in succession, as a member of Congress. At the national convention of the Whig party at Philadelphia in June, 1848, he came within eight votes of receiving the nomination of Vice-President on the successful ticket which was headed by General Taylor as President. After declining the Secretaryship of the Navy in Taylor's cabinet, and then that of the Interior, both which were offered to him, he was appointed by the President as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain; and to that end he embarked for England on November 29, 1849. This was only a few weeks after the graduation of the son at Harvard, who some months later went over to London to visit his father's family. On his return from this trip he sailed from Liverpool for New York on December 28, 1850, in the Collins steamer "Atlantic," which had a very tedious and eventful passage. So long was the arrival of the ship overdue on this side of the ocean that the gravest apprehension was felt by the public in regard to the safety of the vessel and passengers, and the worst was feared.

An editorial paragraph in the "Boston Daily Advertiser," January 25, 1851, says that "the continued absence of the steamer of course excites daily increasing uneasiness"; and the newspapers of that period commented much on the cause of delay. Unfortunately then there was no ocean telegraph, or wireless transmission of news over the water to send promptly the intelligence that the "Atlantic" was safe; and the anxiety of the public was kept at its highest pitch for a fortnight longer than would be needed now. The real cause of the delay proved to be an accident to the machinery, a broken shaft.

The Advertiser, February 17, prints the cheering news under a heading as follows: —

ARRIVAL OF THE AFRICA.

FOURTEEN DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

[*BY TELEGRAPH TO DAILY ADVERTISER.*]

The arrival of the British Steamer Africa, at New York, with the most welcome news of the safety of the steamer "ATLANTIC," so long out of time, was announced here, by telegraph, yesterday morning. We have the following despatch from our correspondent at New York: —

and then follows a detailed account of the accident.

The intelligence was, indeed, most welcome to the public, and relieved the tension of anxiety. The news was fourteen days later than anything yet received from the other side of the ocean. To the present generation, accustomed to get news from the four quarters of the globe within a few hours of its occurrence, such sluggish delay seems unaccountable. It bears out the old proverb that no news is good news. Mr. Lawrence's family in London heard of the arrival of the steamship at Cork on its return after the accident before they were aware of any delay in the passage across the water or of any mishap to the vessel.

For a while after Mr. Lawrence's return home from this eventful voyage, he was connected with the commission house (A. & A. Lawrence & Co.) of his father; and later he became a member of the firm of James W. Paige & Co., another large commission house in Boston. For about ten years he was actively engaged in mercantile affairs; and during this period in different years he attended three courses of lectures at the Harvard Law School, where he took the degree of LL.B. in 1863 and was admitted to the bar. At this time he retired from business, but he never engaged in the active practice of his profession.

Mr. Lawrence was a man of fine literary tastes, and was familiar with the best English authors. He had a large library, selected with great care, and he spent much time with his books. His leisure now gave him the long desired opportunity to lead a life of elegant ease and to cultivate the charms that come from literature. While enjoying this state of affairs, his relations to the community and to society in

general drew him into a close connection with various charitable institutions and other bodies which took up much of his time. At the date of his death he was president of the Pacific Mills and of the Essex Company at Lawrence, a trustee of the Massachusetts General Hospital and of the Boston Dispensary. At one time he was actuary of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, and also president of the Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He was a busy man through life, and when not engaged in his own private affairs, he was sure to be occupied in some work useful to the public.

In the summer of 1876 Mr. Lawrence printed for private circulation a book entitled "Journal of a Tour to Niagara Falls in the Year 1805" (pp. 121), kept by his grandfather Timothy Bigelow. It is an interesting volume, and contains as an introduction a memoir of Mr. Bigelow, who was a distinguished lawyer then living in Groton. The Journal tells how he set out from Boston, on July 8, 1805, with four companions, and travelled through the interior of the State of New York, then almost a wilderness, but now teeming with thrifty towns and cities. The party returned to Groton by the way of Montreal, having been absent just six weeks, and having travelled 1355 miles during the trip. In the spring of 1880 Mr. Lawrence edited another journal kept by his grandfather Bigelow, entitled "Diary of a Visit to Newport, New York, and Philadelphia during the Summer of 1815" (pp. 29). It is neither so full nor so interesting as the other journal, but it shows many contrasts between the mode of travelling in vogue at that period and the present time.

In the spring of 1869 Mr. Lawrence compiled a memorial volume to an elder brother, Colonel T. Bigelow Lawrence, United States Consul General at Florence, who died in Washington on March 21, 1869. It is made up of tributes from various sources, including a set of resolutions passed in Washington, on March 24, 1869, by the Massachusetts Delegation in Congress, of which Senator Sumner was the Chairman. The titlepage bears only these words: "T. Bigelow Lawrence. Printed for Private Distribution" (pp. 43).

In early life Mr. Lawrence was associated with the Whig party, but he joined the Republican party at its formation, and during the canvass of 1856 he was active in the support

of General Frémont for president. At this election he was a member of the Republican Ward and City Committee of Boston. While never a strong partisan in his political views, he ever kept up a keen interest in public questions and always remained an adherent to his party. He never held political office, though he was often asked to stand for an election. At one time he was mentioned very prominently for the Collectorship of Boston; and the "Boston Daily Advertiser," December 12, 1889, prints on its first page a list of names appended to a petition sent to the President for his appointment as Collector of the Port. It is signed by a complete list of the wool trade, the dry-goods commission houses, many of the largest mills and the wholesale jewelry trade. Among the signers nearly every insurance firm in town is represented, and the names of many of the bank presidents appear. The petition is a remarkable testimonial to the high character of Mr. Lawrence in the community and to his personal worth as a man.

Mr. Lawrence was married, on April 12, 1853, to Harriette White Paige, only daughter of James William and Harriette Story (White) Paige, of Boston. Her mother was a kinswoman of Chief-Justice Joseph Story and of Daniel Webster's first wife. By this union there were numerous children and grandchildren, as follows:

Abbott, born January 16, 1854, a graduate of Harvard College in 1875, and died March 15, 1882, at Nassau, New Providence, Bahama Islands, where he had gone for the benefit of his health.

Rosamond, born May 17, 1856, married, January 13, 1881, Francis Peabody, second son of Samuel Endicott and Marianne Cabot (Lee) Peabody; and they have three daughters, of whom the eldest was married to Benjamin Nason Hamlin on June 12, 1907, — and to this couple there is now a son.

William Paige, born August 15, 1858, and died February 9, 1898.

John, born April 27, 1861, married, June 16, 1887, Martha Endicott Peabody, an only sister of his brother-in-law; and they have four daughters.

Robert Ashton, born November 4, 1865, married, October 11, 1893, Caroline Ella, daughter of the Rev. Eurotas Parmele and Anna (Cleveland) Hastings, and niece of ex-President Cleveland; and they had one son who lived only a short time. Ashton's death took place as the result of a railroad accident, September 21, 1905.

HARRIETTE STORY, born June 10, 1867, married, March 8, 1893 Reginald Foster, fourth son of Dwight and Henrietta Perkins (Baldwin) Foster; and they have had three sons and two daughters, of whom one of the latter is now dead.

Mr. Lawrence was chosen a member of the Historical Society on December 12, 1878; and for three years (1884–1887) he served in the Council. His death took place on July 6, 1893, at Nahant, where for many years he had had a summer residence. He was well known to the townsfolk on the peninsula, and among them he had many warm friends. His home in Boston was at No. 5 Commonwealth Avenue, where in connection with his brother-in-law, Mr. Benjamin S. Rotch (H. C. 1838), he had built, in 1861, a large double house, near Arlington Street, which was among the earliest dwellings erected on the Avenue. As showing Mr. Lawrence's interest in the objects of the Society, it should be added that he left by will the sum of three thousand dollars, of which the income is to go toward publishing the Proceedings and Collections. In the annual report of the Treasurer this amount appears under the heading of the Lawrence Fund. The cost of printing Volume XVII. of the Proceedings, second series, was charged to that fund. The photograph, from which the engraved plate was made that accompanies this memoir, was taken in the year 1888.

Mr. Lawrence was a Life Member of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society.

MILTON TERCENTENARY.

In place of the stated monthly meeting of the Society, a public commemoration, under its auspices, of the tercentenary of the birth of John Milton was held at the edifice of the First Church in Boston, on Berkeley Street, on Wednesday afternoon, December 9, at four o'clock. Seats in the chancel were occupied by the President, Dr. Everett, Dr. DeNormandie, Dr. Perry, and Rev. Charles E. Park. A portrait of Milton, made for the occasion, bearing a garland of laurel, stood on an easel at the back of the chancel.

Members of the Society and of their families, and invited friends, were admitted on presentation of tickets at half-past three o'clock; and the doors were thrown open to the public at five minutes of four. More than eight hundred persons in all participated, filling the pews and much of the standing-room at the entrance.

An elaborate programme of the exercises had been prepared, in the nature of a memorial of the occasion, fifteen hundred copies of which were printed for distribution among those in attendance and otherwise. It contained reproductions of two of the engraved portraits of Milton, after Faithorne and one at Nuneham, as well as reproductions of the titlepage of the first collective edition of his minor "Poems" (1645) showing the rare portrait by Marshall of the first titlepage of the first edition of the "Paradise Lost" (1667), and of the titlepage of the first edition of the "Paradise Regained" (1671); also the sonnets, the extracts from Milton's "Areopagitica," and the hymns, selected as features of the observance.

The first number of the "Order of Exercises" was an organ prelude, the "Largo" by Händel from his opera of Xerxes, by Mr. Arthur Foote, organist and musical director of the celebration. This was followed by the "Venite," rendered by a triple quartette, a chant by Henry Lawes, the friend of Milton, to whom one of Milton's sonnets is addressed, and who was the composer of the music for "Comus" and "Arcades."

After the invocation by Dr. DeNormandie, a chorus from "The Nativity," composed by John Knowles Paine, was sung with the words from Milton's hymn, "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity."

Dr. Perry read selections from the autobiographical sonnets of Milton, the seventh, nineteenth, and twenty-second, and from the "Areopagitica," closing with Wordsworth's sonnet on Milton. The choir then sang Milton's paraphrase of Psalm LXXXIV. to the tune of "York," composed by Milton's father.

The PRESIDENT'S introduction was as follows:

Himself a typical English Puritan in thought and life, John Milton was both a Puritan poet and the poet of the Puritans, — acknowledged Laureate, his supremacy there was, and is, none to dispute. In its inception, and through the lives of six generations of its people, Massachusetts was the Puritan Commonwealth *par excellence;* to be such, and to be held such, was at once its pride and its doom. Ours is the time-honored Historical Society of the Commonwealth, its act of incorporation bearing the sign-manual of Samuel Adams, the Puritan of the Puritans, then Acting-Governor. It is therefore manifestly proper and altogether fitting that this Society should make special observance of the tercentenary of the birth of him who supremely represents the Puritan on those Parnassian heights where the Puritan would least be looked for, and indeed where he was least at home. I therefore, in behalf of the Society, welcome you who have joined us here in this our observance of a very memorable event.

And in doing so I would first call your attention to the form this observance has taken, as set forth in the programme of the occasion. When those upon whom devolved the character and arrangement of the day's procedure addressed themselves to their task, two methods of observance at once suggested themselves, — the staging and performance of one or the other of Milton's dramas — the "Samson Agonistes" and the "Comus," — or a series of appreciations of Milton in the various phases of his somewhat Protean character, as a poet, as a publicist, as a historian, as a controversialist, as a scholar, or as a teacher. After full discussion both methods were rejected. For this Society to attempt the staging of a drama,

even the "Comus," was manifestly incongruous; even more so for it to essay the "Agonistes"; and Harvard, to which it would have been more, and to us, as it seemed, especially appropriate so to do, lent an ear both dull and cold to the suggestion. On the other hand, a programme of suitable appreciations was difficult to arrange, and — a little conventional withal — seemed somewhat commonplace. Finally it was concluded that, apart from and beyond a single utterance, John Milton alone was competent to say the final word on Milton; he only could lift us to the full height of the occasion. On this basis to-day's programme has been prepared. We shall listen to the words of one orator only; and whether in music or in utterance, for the rest go direct to the fountain head. In sonnet and in chant Milton shall voice Milton. To use the expression of Walter Scott, no awkward squad fires its volley here and to-day over either the cradle or the grave of our laureate.

Needless to say, the rule assigns a limit to me. I must therefore be very brief. And yet I cannot refrain from reference to one result of our discussions over the most suitable observance of the occasion, — a result suggestive, but involving a somewhat recondite research. I have said that Milton was essentially the laureate poet of the Puritans, and that Massachusetts, conceived in Puritanism, was, *par excellence*, the Puritan Commonwealth. Naturally, then, I looked for some indications in our record as a community of the influence exercised by Milton, and for evidence of an early familiarity with him or with his works. I looked in vain. "Paradise Lost" — the single epic both English and Puritan — was published in 1667; and Milton died in 1674, almost exactly a century before at last Massachusetts emerged from the chrysalis stage. Addison's famous series of "Spectator" papers, which contributed so largely towards familiarizing the English-speaking race with their one acknowledged Puritan classic, had appeared in 1712, while many then yet living must have retained almost as fresh a recollection of Milton as we now have of Bryant or of Longfellow. And yet, startling as it seems to say it, in all our Massachusetts literature and publications, whether of books or diaries or letters, including funeral discourses and memoirs, — the output of the entire century which followed the publication of "Paradise Lost," — I have been as yet able to find but a single footprint of Milton, one solitary

indication only that he exercised any influence whatever over the thought or imaginings of those generations. With us that was the theological period, the age of the Mathers; but in the absence of a complete index to that massive relic of a glacial literary period, I have been unable to recall, or, as yet, to learn of any trace of Milton in the "Magnalia," or in the other well-nigh innumerable publications of the Mather family, so prolific of discourses. Sewall in his diary records gifts of psalm-books, volumes containing what then was regarded as poetry, but there is nothing to indicate that he ever saw even a copy of "Paradise Lost," much less was familiar with a quotation from it. The first American edition of the poem, I have found mention of, bears the imprint Philadelphia, 1777, but the earliest Massachusetts reproduction was printed in 1794. No American edition of Milton's complete works saw the light until 1853, as recently as my own college days. In my surprise at this apparent dearth of familiarity and reference, I asked myself as to what extent there were copies even of the "Paradise Lost" in Massachusetts within a century of its first publication. That English editions must have been here we know, as we know that the "Spectator" was to be found in every library and was generally read. But where is the footprint in the sand? The one to which my attention was called is in the diary of John Adams, who, when teaching school at Worcester in 1756, a youth of twenty, wrote: "Reading Milton. That man's soul, it seems to me, was distended as wide as creation. His power over the human mind was absolute and unlimited. His genius was great beyond conception, and his learning without bounds. I can only gaze at him with astonishment, without comprehending the vast compass of his capacity."[1] And, twenty-five years later, John Adams's wife, who was fond of transcribing poetry in her letters, in one to her husband gives,[2] instead of gossip from home, no less than sixteen lines from Milton's familiar "Sweet is the breath of Morn."[3] This, however, was largely over a

[1] Works of John Adams, ii. 14; [2] Letters of Mrs. Adams (Boston, 1841), i. 164.

[3] Forty-eight years after Mrs. Adams wrote the letter which contained the quotations referred to, her son made the following diary record: "With these books [a copy of Shakespeare], in a closet of my mother's bed-chamber, there was [1778] also a small edition, in two volumes, of Milton's Paradise Lost, which, I believe, I attempted ten times to read, and never could get through half a book. I might as well have attempted to read Homer before I had learnt the

hundred years after the lines first appeared in print, and Milton had then been in his grave more than a century.

And now, an investigator of historical facts, I appeal not only to members of this Society but to all here present, for further light on these most interesting points. Can any one produce a copy of the "Paradise Lost" which found a well-authenticated abiding place on a Massachusetts book-shelf prior to 1767? And what quotations from Milton, or traces of his influence, can be found in our New England literature within the century which followed his death? One such trace, and an emphatic and appreciative one, I have given from the diary of John Adams. What others exist? That such exist I make no question, but what proof of them can be produced? I am as yet aware of none.

That we of Massachusetts should celebrate the tercentenary of Milton's birth, and meet in this especial edifice for the purpose, is, I once more assert, none the less fitting. Among the original thirteen of our American communities, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Massachusetts alone designated themselves not States but Commonwealths; and the designation has a deep historical significance. If not the oldest child, Massachusetts was the unmistakable offspring of that great English Commonwealth over which Cromwell ruled, and of which Milton was the poet and the mouthpiece, — blood of her blood, bone of her bone, — most of all, she, in quaint and homelike phrase, favored her mother. In the group of names associated with that memorable time, three belong especially to Massachusetts; they are of the blood, — John Hampden, Oliver Cromwell, John Milton, — the great Puritan triumvirate. And this in which we are to-day gathered is the present house of worship of the First Church in Boston — the church of John Winthrop and John Cotton, and of young Sir Harry Vane. The last is our connecting link. Three of

Greek alphahet. I was mortified, even to the shedding of solitary tears, that I could not even conceive what it was that my father and mother admired so much in that book, and yet I was ashamed to ask them an explanation. I smoked tobacco and read Milton at the same time, and from the same motive — to find out what was the recondite charm in them which gave my father so much pleasure. After making myself four or five times sick with smoking, I mastered that accomplishment, and acquired a habit which, thirty years afterwards, I had more difficulty in breaking off. But I did not master Milton. I was nearly thirty when I first read the Paradise Lost with delight and astonishment." — Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, viii. 157.

Milton's great autobiographical sonnets are reproduced in full in the programme prepared for this occasion. You have listened to them. They are those designated as the seventh, the nineteenth and the twenty-second. Almost immediately preceding the second is that other addressed to him who was once a resident of Boston and Governor of the infant Colony. It begins with the familiar lines,

> Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,
> Than whom a better senator ne'er held
> The helm of Rome,

and immediately before this is that other sonorous chant, beginning

> Cromwell, our chief of men,

in which occurs that famous and familiar phrase,

> Peace hath her victories
> No less renown'd than War.

These, Cromwell and Milton, are two of the three great worthies of the English Commonwealth; the third, Hampden, is the only one of the trio whose name we here in Massachusetts have locally appropriated as a household word. And Vane is the connecting link between them and us. A communicant of the church which now worships in this edifice, Sir Harry Vane associates John Winthrop and John Cotton with Hampden and Cromwell and Milton. The memorials in bronze and in marble of the two former keep watch and ward at the entrance to this edifice or against its northern wall; the name of John Hampden stands out in the roll of our counties; and John Milton has embalmed in immortal verse the memory of Vane. Thus, truly, we find ourselves here and now in august company, — in company with him whom Clarendon referred to as the *Pater Patriæ* of his day; with him whom men know as the Great Protector; with him the erstwhile Governor of Massachusetts, and the typical martyr of the Restoration; with him the Father of Massachusetts; and with that other "The unmitred pope of a pope-hating commonwealth"; and all gather here with us in spirit, — grouped around the cradle of one who, moving to the music of the

spheres in the remote and splendid orb of Homer, Virgil and Dante, sang in immortal verse,

> Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
> Of that forbidden tree,

until, like the "blind old man of Scio's rocky isle,"

> He pass'd the flaming bounds of place and time:
> The living throne, the sapphire blaze,
> Where angels tremble while they gaze,
> He saw; but, blasted with excess of light,
> Closed his eyes in endless night.

In conformity with the usage of the Society, I now, with all confidence while so doing, call upon our associate Dr. Everett for a fitting appreciation of him whose tercentennial natal day we are thus met to commemorate.

Dr. Everett spoke as follows:

The name of Milton opens such a vast field for interesting discussion, that a speaker for an hour must confine himself to some one phase of its varied extent; and I think Mr. Adams has shown us the most appropriate topic for our attention here and now, when he calls on us to consider

Milton the Puritan.

One of the last gleams of Sir Walter Scott's genius, before the clouds closed over it, is the scene in "Woodstock" where the Cavalier challenges the Roundhead to produce from among the Puritans any flash of the poetical and dramatic genius which Charles I. and his followers found in Shakespeare. The young Parliamentary colonel heeds the call, and repeats a passage of transcendent beauty from "Comus." The poetry sinks with heavenly cadence into the ears and soul of the aged knight; he gives way to a hearty burst of applause, and inquires about the author. The disguised king to whom he appeals tells him that it is John Milton. The name arouses the most violent revulsion of feeling, and he indulges in a contrary burst of wrath at being tricked into expressing approval of anything written by the author of the Defence of the People of England, the secretary of Oliver Cromwell.

Sir Walter could draw a scene bringing out the conflicting

passions and prejudices of men with a spirit and truth which no other could command. But this dialogue about Milton is exceptionally spirited and truthful as reflecting passions and prejudices which have raged through both Old and New England for over two centuries and have not yet lost their force. Those who accepted the name of Puritans, and lived up to it, have been taunted from Milton's day to this with an enmity to all the grace and beauty of humanity, with being uncouth and repulsive; deriving these painful qualities from the very nature of their profession, in its essence inconsistent with the beauty and tenderness and poetry of life. No end of what passes for wit has been expended on the Bible names, the sombre dress, the unadorned shrines, the tuneless psalms, and in general the unlovely and dreary nature of the Puritans.

To all such criticisms, whether in joke or in earnest, the life and works of Milton are an answer. He was a Puritan of the Puritans, engaged in war to the knife with the system of Charles and Laud in Church and State. Yet from the version of the Psalms which he attempted in his boyhood to "Paradise Regained" and "Samson Agonistes," the work of his advanced age, there breathes in every page of his verse the aroma of the loftiest and sweetest poetry. A control of metre, rhymed or unrhymed, unsurpassed by Virgil or Spenser, — a justice of simile, an elegance of fancy, a vividness of imagination that Lucretius or Dante might envy, — an alternate terseness and exuberance of phrase that reminds us now of Petrarch and anon of Ariosto, — a chastened command of classical and romantic allusion beside which the style of Sidney or Ben Jonson is rank pedantry, — all these things challenge rivalry with the greatest names of past times, and give him unquestioned right to the poet's bay.

No contemporary, however bigoted, and none of their Tory successors could resist the charm of such poems, or fail to recognize their author's pre-eminence. Hence, as may be seen in Johnson's biography, their attack on Puritanism and Milton as a Puritan had to be diverted from stale jokes to equally stale charges of perversive politics and hypocritical morals, great stress being laid on Milton's unseemly violence of argument.

I suppose Milton's poetry to be comparatively out of favor now, though the awe that attends his name makes men shy

of criticism; but as it is at once thoroughly musical and thoroughly intelligible, it naturally does not appeal to an age which craves, for what it calls poetry, verse without melody and sentences without sense, and warmly praises "Lycidas," that one of all Milton's poems that really needs an interpreter. In the same way Puritan principles are the constant subject of sneers as at once disagreeable and impracticable, in an age that thinks the only object of life is to do what you want to, — if you know what that is.

I believe myself that the grandeur and beauty of Milton's poems are inseparably bound up with his Puritanism. In recounting the different traits wherein he competes with the greatest names, I passed over what is his transcendent characteristic, — elevation of tone; a contempt of trifles, a constant tendency to higher thoughts, never descending to baseness, and habitually rising to sublimity. Herein he has often been compared to Æschylus, the most ancient of dramatists; and indeed these two stand out above all others for their sustained loftiness, if we set aside the Hebrew prophets. We see the quality in Sophocles and in Virgil, but it is there mingled with a passion and gentleness rarely employed by Milton. Dante, who can soar as high, can also sink and befoul his plumes in depths from which Milton turns with loathing; and the same is even truer of Shakespeare.

But Milton's loftiness of soul comes out most plainly by contrast with the frivolity of his contemporaries. His was an age of the liveliest thought, — great minds grappling with great problems, and equipped with learning that if less critical than our own time was far more capacious, — but it was at the same time an age of trifles and quibbling, a time of ponderous pageantry, distorted wit, fantastic ingenuity, far-fetched analogy. The stores of ancient and mediæval writings, and the first fruits of dawning science and adventure, were ransacked to furnish conceits which stand to real emotion and reflection as a Chinese nest of carved ivory balls to a statue by Phidias or Angelo. One does not expect much profundity in masques got up to amuse a court, or comedies fashioned to catch the gods of the Bankside gallery. But when one sees George Herbert, whose mind was as full of culture as his soul of piety, quibbling and riddling on the very steps of the altar, one feels the greater admiration for Milton, whose imagination and dic-

tion, even amid the gayety of "L'Allegro," stand aloft in their sparkling purity, the case of internal fire, like Etna above the shores of Catania and Syracuse.

This loftiness, almost haughtiness, of tone I believe is the product, or rather the very essence, of Puritanism, — that Milton's thoughts and words mount higher than even those of the choicer spirits of his time because his whole being was instinct with those same qualities that belonged to Eliot and Hampden and Vane in England, and to our own fathers, Wilson and Winthrop and Cotton, whom we call Puritans.

What then were the Puritans? What is this same principle of Puritanism, now a scoff, now a terror, to those in whom it does not bear sway, — to its possessors a mighty power in the strength of which they do all the things which in the Epistle to the Hebrews are ascribed to the chosen ones of Israel?

The name is held to have been attached to those who desired a purer or simpler worship in the Church of England, which they thought had retained too much of the Romish observances that the Swiss reformers had thrown off; from this division in the Church gradually grew all that makes up the Puritan character. But I believe that sentiment itself had a far older and deeper origin, — one inherent in the national temper of England, which had broken out many times in the centuries preceding Luther. That spirit is the devotion to personal liberty; the defiance of any outside imposed authority, — that determination to be free from domination, whether of kings or priests, which had come down from the German forests.

History tells us what the facts of these assertions of English liberty have been. But history does not tell us as well as the consciousness of Englishmen, whether of Old or New England, what is the English freedom that has never been driven out of the hearts of the nation, an eternal encouragement to the people, and a warning to all who attempt to enslave them. It is a sense of individual right which, as Goldsmith has told us, makes every Briton

> Learn to venerate himself as man.

It has no kindred with the wild frenzy that has seized on other nations in mass, claiming liberties they cannot formulate.

It has no desire to defy law, or rebel against rightful sway. It has submitted many times to authority which was not rightful, provided that authority restrained its edicts within the bounds which the nation prescribed to it. But against all transgression of those bounds, against all attempts to control men of English blood in those things wherein they had made up their minds to be free, native and foreign rulers have alike had to learn that ancient lesson, — "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." We should rather reverse the image. It is the alien king in vain commanding the tide to obey him that is the type of those who have sought to force the English race backward from their ancient liberties; the ebb may apparently give ground for years, even for ages; but the flood is sure to return, more irresistible than ever.

In Tudor times there was a moment's pause of the spirit of liberty in England. The nobility, who had commonly been its leaders, were cowed and all but exterminated, and the peasantry were sharing the low estate of their masters. The citizens and merchants were steadily gaining in force, prepared, when the time came, to stand up against any attack on their native rights; then the King led the onset against the dominion of Rome and the whole land burst into flame. It is of little moment whether Henry's views were low or lofty, of little moment how far the spirit of Reform really pervaded England. The main fact, discernible through all disputes, is that when Elizabeth died there was a strong, recognized, determined body that refused to submit to dictation in its worship, and declared that the Church of England must be free, as the State of England had been free, — free from any suggestion of Roman dominion, as eight centuries before the State had declared itself beyond the Roman pale of empire. The body which upheld this standard were the Puritans.

But it must never be forgotten that this claim to national and individual liberty was very far from a declaration of independence, or a throwing off of all responsibility. The Puritan in his efforts for political freedom held firmly his obedience to the law as it was at any time; and in proclaiming his religious freedom from Rome or Lambeth, he owned all the more emphatically his responsibility to God. And this responsibility was direct and immediate. Every man, however he resented

the exactions and impositions of usurped or strained authority in Church and State, could only do so as the personal subject of Heaven, unquestioning and unchanging. If at any time a Puritan appeared a rebel to King or Bishop, it was because he felt under the direct command of his Creator, and settled in himself once for all the question, "Shall we obey God or man?"

And both these elements — the passion for liberty, becoming rebellion against all usurped authority, and the passion of devotion, prostrating itself before the White Throne — are the very inspiration of Milton's writing. From his early and delicate poems, "L'Allegro," "Lycidas," and "Comus," down to the last desperate pleadings of the blind Samson, there is the same yearning for freedom, the same consecration to God. In a strain of fierceness that is fairly appalling, he attacks the followers of Laud, and defends their Presbyterian opponents; he denounces them in turn, declaring "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large," and ends by withdrawing wholly from public worship, since no church or sect is free from coercive tyranny; and closes his labors with the august narrative of Samson pulling down the idol temple on himself as the only way of ending his own slavery and avenging himself on the enemies of God.

Yet in his earliest sonnet he declares his life to be passed

> As ever in my great Taskmaster's eye.

He ends the joyous exultation of the Attendant Spirit when his task is done with the ever memorable lines,

> Mortals that would follow me,
> Love virtue, — she alone is free.

In every one of his bold advances into the very deserts of freedom, where the hardiest of his contemporaries shrank from following him, he carries with him the standard of religion; he appeals from the lords, who seek to hold him back, to his master, God, who leads the way. He is ready to walk into the Red Sea if the heavenly pillar only shines before him to mark the road.

The union of these two principles is most strongly shown in the whole structure of "Paradise Lost." In the terribly mag-

nificent opening Milton seems almost to deify rebellion, — the adversary of God, who after his fall "lay vanquished, rolling in the fiery gulf," contrives, by his own innate energy, to rise, to fly, to walk, to construct a splendid palace, to hold a council, to force his way through hell and chaos and regions of whose very existence he knew not; and after one hour of bitter remorse to engage in the work of fresh schemes to win a new victory and triumph over the power that crushed him. It has seemed to many who have read the poem and scarcely understood it, that Milton's sympathies are with Satan, so that he awards the victory to the false and not the true hero. It is a very superficial idea. It is the Father who is the conqueror. If the rebel achieves the triumph of making man his brother rebel, it is only to carry in himself the unquenchable fire of everlasting punishment.

> Me miserable ! which way shall I fly
> Infinite wrath and infinite despair ?
> Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell;
> And in the lowest deep a lower deep
> Still threatening to devour me opens wide
> To which the hell I suffer seems a heaven.

Such is the true meaning of "Paradise Lost." But Milton's last word is not spoken there. We read it in that marvellous appendix, "Paradise Regained," a poem which, wanting in the varied scenery, the gorgeous ornament, the sweeping narrative of its predecessor, teaches a yet loftier and deeper lesson, — how the soul of man may fortify itself against the arrogant assaults of the unwearied enemy, and win the eternal triumph of the glorious liberty of the sons of God. That the passion for freedom is best satisfied by submission to his authority, — that the temptations of the world, the bribes it offers to self-assertion are really badges of slavery, — such is the theme of "Paradise Regained," written when, as the world would say, Milton's cause, national or personal, was utterly lost. "Paradise Regained" is not a book for every reader, not one for those who are charmed with "Il Penseroso" or "Comus" or awed and dazzled by "Paradise Lost." It has a very few captivating passages, like the wonderful descriptions of Rome and Athens, combining a deep erudition worthy of a contemporary of Casaubon and Grotius with a keen appreciation that the

Froudes and the Mommsens never attained. But its staple is austere. It is not a book to read in easy hours, when we covet the harmonies and delicacies of verse; but in the times of suffering, of doubt and dread, when it seems as if even God had forsaken us, then there is a tonic power in its view of triumphant sacrifice no other English bard ever portrayed.

At the time when Milton was telling how Satan offers to Jesus the bribe of universal monarchy, liberty had all but perished throughout Europe, and monarchy flaunted robes everywhere stained with lust and cruelty and frivolity. This then is his description of the true king as uttered by the Son of God:

> What if with like aversion I reject
> Riches and realms? Yet not for that a crown,
> Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns,
> Brings dangers, troubles, cares and sleepless nights
> To him who wears the regal diadem,
> When on his shoulders each man's burden lies;
> For therein stands the office of a king,
> His honor, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
> That for the public all this weight he bears;
> Yet he, who reigns within himself, and rules
> Passions, desires and fears, is more a king;
> Which every wise and virtuous man attains;
> And who attains not, ill aspires to rule
> Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes,
> Subject himself to anarchy within,
> Or lawless passions in him, which he serves.

But the name Puritan is at this moment used exclusively to mean a narrow and cruel inquisitor into one's own life or another's, cutting out of it all natural and joyous elements, substituting a sour tyranny for a genial "live and let live" strain. Let those who assert this view read "L'Allegro" if they can. To balance this distorted use of the name the word "human" has come to mean "vicious," so that when we hear that any one, especially any one in a position of authority and control, has given way to passion or selfishness or weakness, we hear such expressions as "Ah, the judge is human, — he 's no Puritan." We are told that Puritanism is "passing," that being the word which the jargon of the day, which does duty for English, uses when it means "passing away."

The Puritan and his view of life will never pass away. They

were long before Tudors and Stewarts, long even before Christianity, — they belong to no one race and no one church. At the time that Milton was fighting among those who sought to purify the Church of England, Blaise Pascal, a prostrate devotee of the Church of Rome, was living the Puritan life in France, while exhibiting his country's genius and language in its highest perfection under the rule of an asceticism beyond Hampden or Vane.

The Puritan in every country and in every age is bent on devoted obedience and service to God. He sees, alike in the great world without and the little world, himself, — what the thinkers of Milton's day still called the *macrocosm* and *microcosm*, an army of passions, lusts, whims, fancies, ambitions, all tending to draw the soul away from God and reduce it to slavery, — a slavery exercised by many masters; some openly coercing the soul's native freedom, some cajoling it by the names of pleasure and amusement, momentary sport that should only rivet yet closer the chains of an artful tyranny. Against this treason, alike to God and himself, the Puritan feels the call to righteous war. He will not surrender the freedom he draws straight from his Father to any enchanter with his Circe cup, that substitutes the wantonness of a beast for the freedom of men. He is not less but more human than his scoffers; he believes that virtue and purity and self-control are the badges of humanity that raise men above beasts, either uselessly wild or tamed only by force.

Were such ideas invented in Elizabeth's reign? Did none before the Puritans of England ever condemn thoughtless pleasure and selfish indulgence as dangerous at the best and ruinous at the worst, reducing man to slavery worse than a collared dog or galled horse? Is there a word spoken by all the strictest divines of Old or New England that does not seem an echo of Plato and Aurelius? No! But with those elder men the voice could reach only a few who read and thought; they spoke to the votaries of gods whose very worship was an outrage against true piety, and their efforts for purity and liberty fell on stony soil. The Puritans of Milton's day spoke to a mighty nation that had never lost its native conscience and its native pride; they spoke as members of a church whose service, if true to its origin, would lead straight to the Holy of Holies, but which had long been fettered by devices

of men that it had not all thrown off. To reclaim that people — their people — that church — their church — from the old Egyptian slavery of ease which never aspired and pleasure which never reflected, such was the work of the Puritans, — of Vane and Cotton, of Winthrop and Milton.

If anybody doubts that such work was needed, or believes that the people of England, when Milton was born, were given chiefly to innocent sports and expanded thoughts, that needed no repression and no elevation, I would simply send him to the theatre of the day; I would ask him to study the court of James the First; I would ask if with any church doctrines or any form of government there could be more grossness, more frivolity, more sacrifice of the noble to the trivial, what is tasteful and delicate to what is coarse and brutal. There are things that a truly fastidious taste would omit from Shakespeare; but is there one comedy of Fletcher's that could be performed at this day without driving a modest audience with blushes from their seats?

The Puritans knew other lands besides England; Milton himself had a close acquaintance with the Continent, and knew what prevailed where English freedom and English conscience had never borne sway. There was one cloud over the whole, spread by tyranny and priestcraft, — selling licence to play for the surrender of thought. Well might an English minister of the gospel or counsellor of state feel that a curb was needed on even blameless amusement rather than that London should be as Paris or Naples.

The Puritan view of humanity is set forth once for all by Milton in his "Comus." The enchanter comes in attended by a rout of men and women with the heads of beasts, who break into a revelling dance which his cup and his spells have brought them to believe is the mark of uncontrolled freedom, but which is really a stage performance at the beck of the hardest of masters, the caprice of the hour. It is this rabble rout of "Comus," men and women turned into beasts, against which the Puritan raised his voice to recall them to true humanity.

Perhaps, if all who held this lofty view had stayed in England to help Milton and Pym and Vane and Cromwell in their fight for God and liberty, the victory might have been won, not for a few years but for all time. But the Puritans

were divided. America had drawn to her unbroken wilds a goodly number of the bravest and noblest; and here, even here, their principles took deep root, never to perish, though in the sight of the foolish they seem to die. In England the reaction came, and the nation plunged into an orgy under Charles and James, which in a few years showed that the demon who had been driven out had come back to his old dwelling with seven others yet worse. A single generation of such a life sickened the whole people; slowly and painfully the recovery came, while the eighteenth century pursued its way in which a sense of morality and purity, an elevation worthy of Milton, was but a name. What England had come to under such influence as apathy in the Church, corruption in the State, and drunkenness in society could exercise, Sir George Trevelyan tells us in his Life of Fox. In these foul, dull times the Puritan spirit awoke, though the name was changed. Wesley and Whitefield came to the rescue of the masses of the people, whom the selfishness of their masters was crushing to the level of the beasts. In another generation the Evangelicals, Wilberforce and Hannah More, Henry Thornton and Samuel Romilly, passed on the torch of piety and self-control, and set in motion the vast machinery of active philanthropy, in protest against a godless life, enslaved to self-indulgence.

But now we are told it is all past. Puritanism is gone forever. "Live and let live" is the word of the hour; every man, every woman, every child for itself; and in our reciprocal indulgences we shall find social pleasure. Bohemia is proving that Shakespeare's geography is correct, for it is rapidly annexing our entire seacoast in its unrestrained vanities, and from its subjects the cry goes up, "Comus, I thank thee that I am not as the men of old were — considerate, temperate, continent, or even as this Puritan." On goes the mad race for pleasure; making fortunes at the expense of honesty to spend them at the expense of delicacy, filling theatres and novels with suggestions of indecency that would have made Fletcher and Fielding look away, crushing out the souls of its competitors on the journey of life, as its car-wheels crush out the lives of its brethren on the roads of the earth. Have a care, great Comus! The brothers are growing up who shall rush in, break your glass against the ground, and drive in your rabble

rout, with the triumphant reassertion of the Puritan's creed, God's service alone is perfect freedom.

It is a common charge that Puritans were and are hypocrites, that they pretended a virtue they did not possess. I do not know a better test of sincerity than to consider what men sacrifice to their opinions. From opening youth to advanced age John Milton had proclaimed in fearless verse and prose what he held to be the law of God and man, with a loftiness of tone that ignored all frivolity, a beauty of speech that rebuked all coarseness, — and what became of his life? He had started with many advantages, — a kindly home, a complete education, a competent fortune, an angelic beauty, a high estimation in his own country and abroad, a craving for sympathy. He ended his life in blindness, in poverty, in obloquy, in domestic sorrow, his poetic powers scarce recognized, his political principles scorned. Yet he was sustained to the end by a serenity such as some of his most illustrious associates, like Vane and Cromwell, never knew, and a consciousness that he had achieved to the full his early ambition to be the author of that which "posterity would not willingly let die." Close upon the first centennial anniversary of his birth, Addison was teaching his countrymen the perfection of Milton's poetry; his praises were rung in succession as the years went on by Dryden, Thomson, Gray, and Cowper. At the second centennial Wordsworth was declaring that the country had need of him at that hour, for "his soul was like a star, and dwelt apart"; and now that the third century has passed, in every centre of culture in England and America, beginning with his own glorious University of Cambridge, where he learned the principles and arts which in his hands were to be the chief glory of his time, one universal chorus of praise goes up in his honor, who like his contemporary Galileo saw "worlds and stars unseen by mortal eyes."

There is always danger, on an occasion of this kind, that praise will degenerate into mere panegyric, slurring over or leaving out altogether those parts of a hero's record that cast a shadow if not a stain over his glory. Yielding to none in my affectionate admiration for Milton's genius and person, there are some points forced upon our notice which demand grave censure.

First, his expressed views about women in his treatises on divorce are entirely unworthy of him; at once unkind and

unjust, and, what is most striking, quite inconsistent with those that he expresses elsewhere. It is difficult to conceive that the eighth book of "Paradise Lost" with its angelic picture of the female character and domestic happiness can have come from the same pen as the "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce."

Again, the virulence of language in some of his controversial works is something wholly at variance with the purity and elevation of all his poetry and much of his prose. He ransacks the stores of Latin as well as English to call his antagonists abusive names. It is no excuse to say such was the temper of the age, that Milton's opponents were as foul-mouthed as he.[1] Such is never an adequate excuse for men of genius, of whom it is demanded that they shall be above their age; least of all with Milton, who, as he scorned women's frivolity, should have despised Prynne's scurrility.

Lastly, for which he never shall have my forgiveness, he used to smoke a pipe every evening before going to bed.

I reminded you that about the age of thirty Milton visited the Continent and passed a considerable time in the chief cities of Italy. I have often thought that with very little violation of history the successive steps of his journey might receive a poetical form and be typical of the course of his life. I imagine him at each of the Italian capitals to be visited by the Genius of the place and urged to surrender himself to its special temptation, much as he tells the like story in "Paradise Regained." As each proposal draws forth only refusal, the indignant guardian pronounces a corresponding curse.

Beginning with Venice, in the marvellous beauty of his manhood, he is beset by the attractions of women, so potent in that city in his time; and upon his indignant refusal the sentence is pronounced that he shall be unhappy in love.

At Genoa the treasures of trade and wealth are laid before him in all their splendor; again he turns away — and is told he has nothing to expect in life but poverty.

At Florence it is art that courts, the galleries with their glories of painting and sculpture. He views these too un-

[1] I have seen intimations that this virulence of abuse was practised only by the Puritans. Those who hold this view should read the language of Laud, Bishop of London, to the Rev. Thomas Shepard. — Prince's New-England Chronology, edition of 1826, 338.

moved, and is threatened with blindness, even like Galileo, whom he has just seen in his confinement.

The ruins of ancient Rome offer him the promise of political glory; his ambition is obviously awakened, he is yielding a half assent, when the thought of how the great Roman leaders sold their very conscience makes him break off the compact; and he is answered that he shall win no mean fame as a statesman, only to be scorned at last, and scarcely allowed to live by his political foemen.

Modern Rome now calls him to the glories of religion, and appeals at once to his earthly and his heavenly aspirations; but he spurns even more passionately the blandishments of the Popedom, and is told that he shall live and die an exile from every Christian church.

At last he comes to Naples. The friend of Tasso entertains him, and he feels he can read some of the deeper secrets of the divine art, — he falls asleep on the cliff that overlooks the lovely bay, and there the shade of Virgil, rising from his tomb, pronounces that in full recompense for all he has surrendered the laurel of the bard shall be his to all eternity.

The choir then sang choruses from Händel's oratorio of "Samson." The words of this oratorio, produced in London in 1743, were compiled by Newburgh Hamilton, mainly from "Samson Agonistes," the hymn on the Nativity, and "At a Solemn Musick." The next number was a hymn by Milton, his paraphrase of Psalm CXXXVI., sung to the tune of "Nuremberg," composed by Milton's contemporary, Johann Rudolph Ahle.

The benediction was given by Rev. Charles E. Park; and the organ postlude by Mr. Foote was a fugue in C major by Bach.

JANUARY MEETING, 1909.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the senior Vice-President, SAMUEL A. GREEN, in the chair.

The records of the November meeting and of the Tercentenary of the birth of John Milton held on December 9 in the edifice of the First Church in Boston were read and approved. The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the last two months; and the Cabinet-Keeper reported the addition, to the Society's collection of portraits, of a large photographic likeness of John Milton made by direction of the committee on the tercentenary of his birth and used at the commemoration.

The senior Vice-President reported for the Council that Worthington C. Ford had entered upon the duties assigned to him as Editor of the Society's publications.

Mr. NORCROSS, for the committee on the change of names of streets and squares, reported that a bill was to be presented to the General Court providing that changes of names of streets and squares which have stood for twenty-five years or more shall not be made without the consent of the State Highway Commission.

Mr. BRADFORD then read a paper entitled "The Need of an Opposition." In this paper he referred to certain statements and expressions in a political address delivered by Mr. C. F. Adams at a public meeting in Richmond, Virginia, October 24, during the recent presidential canvass. Mr. Bradford dwelt on the necessity of an organized opposition to the successful operation of any form of parliamentary or representative government. He also commented on the absence of this factor in the past, as well as the existing political situation in the United States, on the reason thereof, and on the dangers which might not improbably result therefrom at a not remote period. In so doing, he emphasized the views expressed in his well known publication entitled "The Lesson of Popular Government" (1899).

Dr. EVERETT desired to call the attention of the members to a note in the report of his address at the Milton commemoration. Since that was delivered, his attention had been called to an article in the "Academy," a paper which has changed its character several times lately. It is now edited by Lord Alfred Douglas, a member of the ill-starred Queensberry family, whose various misfortunes might appear almost to have affected his reason, as he exhibits a sort of antediluvian Toryism in matters of church and state in language beyond measure abusive. The Academy's article on Milton, written in a strain of depreciation almost sinking to contempt, alludes to his sarcastic writings as written with a virulence of language peculiar to the Puritans. Dr. EVERETT therefore referred the members to the record in Prince's Chronology (p. 338, edition of 1826), which contains the following account of a scene between Laud, Bishop of London, and Rev. Thomas Shepard:

(This year Dr. I. Mather tells us) bishop Laud persecutes Mr. (Thomas) Shepard (in England) for preaching a lecture, notwithstanding he is now a Conformist, not having searched into the principles of the Nonconformists till after this; I have by me a manuscript of Mr. Shepard's, written with his own hand, in which are these words.

December 16, 1630. I was inhibited from preaching in the diocess of London by Dr. Laud, bishop of that diocess. As soon as I came in the morning, about eight of the clock, falling into a fit of rage, he asked me, what degree I had taken in the University? I answered him, I was a master of arts. He asked, of what college? I answered, of Emanuel. He asked how long I had lived in his diocess? I answered three years and upwards. He asked, who maintained me all this while? charging me to deal plainly with him, adding withal, that he had been more cheated and equivocated with by some of my malignant faction than ever was man by Jesuit. At the speaking of which words he looked as though blood would have gushed out of his face, and did shake as if he had been haunted with an ague fit, to my apprehension, by reason of his extreme malice and secret venom. I desired him to excuse me, he fell then to threaten me, and withal to bitter railing, calling me all to naught, saying, you prating coxcomb! do you think all the learning is in your brain? He pronounced his sentence thus; I charge you that you neither preach, read, marry, bury, or exercise any ministerial function in any part of my diocess, for if you do, and I hear of it, I will be upon your back and follow you wherever you go, in

any part of the kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you. I besaught him not to deal so, in regard of a poor town; and here he stopt me in what I was going on to say. A poor town! you have made a company of seditious, factious bedlams, and what do you prate to me of a poor town? I prayed him to suffer me to catechise in the Sabbath days in the afternoon; he replied, spare your breath, I will have no such fellows prate in my diocess; get you gone, and now make your complaints to whom your will? So away I went, and blessed be God that I may go to him. (Thus did this bishop, a professed disciple of the meek and lowly Jesus, treat one of the most pious, humble, diligent and faithful young ministers in the Church of England in this day.)

In this tirade the future archbishop deals in language quite as coarse as anything used by Milton against Salmasius or Morus.

Dr. EVERETT further said that a defence had been found by our late associate Samuel R. Gardiner for the tyranny of Laud, Strafford, and their master on the ground that they were all entirely honest, but failed to understand the English people of their day. This does not better the case. It is the business of men in positions of such authority to understand their nation; to ask themselves every day whether they do understand it, especially when they find their favorite measures opposed. Pym, Hampden, Cromwell, and Milton had so understood Englishmen; it might be said that Clarendon, royalist as he was, saw far clearer than the King what the nation would stand.

It is a pleasant contrast to see how completely the present King of England understands the people he rules, and how admirably he plays his part, both at home and abroad, for this very reason.

JAMES SCHOULER, a Corresponding Member, read the following paper:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AT TREMONT TEMPLE IN 1848.

It is matter of history that in September, 1848, Abraham Lincoln visited Boston and vicinity to make political speeches for the Whig candidate, General Zachary Taylor, during the presidential campaign of that year; and that on the evening of the 22d he appeared on the same platform with William H. Seward of New York, at Tremont Temple, to address a

large Whig audience gathered in this city.[1] So far as I am aware, however, the details of that visit have never been explored, and the object of the present paper is to set them forth as fully as the authentic information still accessible may permit. For this was the only political visit, and indeed the only genuine visit at all, that this foremost among our nineteenth-century Americans ever made to Massachusetts.

Lincoln was at this stage of his career a Whig member of Congress in the House, and in fact the only Whig representative at all from Illinois who served in the thirtieth Congress. That service for a single term of two years was his only one before he returned to Washington in 1861 to become President of the United States during the most perilous crisis of our history. He did not stand for reëlection to the House in 1848, and his district reverted to the Democrats at a polling held shortly before he came to Boston,[2] while he lingered in Washington, franking documents and corresponding with political friends.

Before turning westward, through New York State, to his distant home in Illinois, Lincoln came to Massachusetts as a campaign orator, after making a few speeches in Maryland. His first public appearance here was at Worcester, September 12, 1848, on the evening which preceded the Whig State convention held Wednesday in that city, where the well-beloved George N. Briggs was renominated for Governor and State electors at large were fixed upon for the Whig presidential ticket. His final speech of this tour was at Boston on Friday the 22d, — that Tremont-Temple occasion to which I refer. Hence Lincoln's present visit to Massachusetts occupied some ten days in all, most of which time he must have passed in Boston and its close vicinity.

The initial speech at Worcester was before a crowded audience at City Hall and aroused much enthusiasm. On the next forenoon, September 13, Lincoln was one of several who spoke out-of-doors from a temporary stand erected near the railroad station; and confusion being made by the arrival of Whig del-

[1] J. Schouler, History of the United States, v. 112, note; J. G. Nicolay and J. Hay, Abraham Lincoln, a History, i. 281.

[2] But he aided in carrying this Congressional district for Taylor in the following November.

egations from different parts of the State with their brass bands, speakers and audience joined presently in marching to the convention hall to attend proceedings. Levi Lincoln of Worcester, ripe in Whig honors, was probably present at this convention and his name headed the electoral list; while Rufus Choate and Robert C. Winthrop made the chief speeches to the assembled delegates.

Next in order, so far as the Boston newspapers record his movements, Abraham Lincoln addressed the Boston Whig Club on Friday, September 15, at their headquarters on Bromfield Street. On Monday evening, the 18th, he took part with other orators at Dorchester, and on Tuesday he spoke at Chelsea. Wednesday afternoon, the 20th, he attended a Whig ratification meeting called in Dedham, but had to cut short his speech in order to meet a more pressing engagement in the evening at Cambridge, where as the chief speaker in a Whig rally held at City Hall he made a powerful impression upon a large and intelligent audience. Two nights later came Boston's memorable Whig gathering at Tremont Temple in which this tour culminated. Not only did civic voters turn out that evening in full strength to welcome and applaud their two great champions from States west of New England, but Whig clubs and committee men from a considerable distance were also in attendance. Seward, lately Governor of the Empire State and soon to become one of its United States senators, seems to have been the favorite of the occasion, taking precedence in the programme; but Lincoln made good his own performance at the close. His speech, interrupted by shouts of laughter and approving exclamations, was cheered to the echo at its end, and the meeting broke up at nearly half past ten, with hearty and repeated rounds of applause for both speakers and the Whig candidate. Applications came to Boston the next day from various parts of the State to secure this bright and breezy orator for other political meetings; but it was announced in the press that he had already started homeward for Illinois and the West, leaving Boston and Massachusetts by railway train the very next morning.

Lincoln's unique figure and physiognomy must have impressed his audiences on this brief visit. The "Boston Daily Advertiser" of September 14, in reporting his speech of the

12th at Worcester, described him as "a very tall and thin figure, with an intellectual face, showing a searching mind, and a cool judgment. He spoke in a clear and cool, and very eloquent manner, for an hour and a half, carrying the audience with him in his able arguments and brilliant illustrations — only interrupted by warm and frequent applause." An enthusiastic hearer of his Cambridge speech thus wrote of him to "The Boston Daily Atlas" of the 22d, "Mr. Lincoln . . . is a capital specimen of a 'Sucker'[1] Whig, six feet at least in his stockings, and every way worthy to represent that Spartan band of the only Whig district in poor benighted Illinois." Later, I may add, in early 1860, when Lincoln made his famous Cooper Institute speech on February 27, "Burleigh,"[2] a New York correspondent of the "Boston Daily Journal," of the 29th, sketched him humorously as "tall, slim, lank, rather queer, with an unmistakably Yankee look — dresses like a Connecticut deacon — with a voice fifey and shrill." That "Yankee look," upon which our novelist Hawthorne commented when he saw Lincoln still later at the White House,[3] and which made him seem, even to unfamiliar Eastern men, some kinsman not remote of their own rural neighborhoods, fixed deeply the beholder in Massachusetts even thus early in 1848; for we find "The Daily [Boston] Chronotype" of September 23, whose Free-soil editor was of the bitter and biting sort, making contemptuous allusion to "Mr. Abram Lincoln," on his present visit, as "the suckerized Yankee."

Our Illinois campaigner occupied an hour or an hour and a half in the political speeches of this ten days' tour, when given his full opportunity, and it seems quite certain that the staple of all those speeches was alike. Party contemporaries agree that this stranger from the West spoke with perfect coolness and self-possession; that he was clear and logical in argument, plain, cogent, and to the point; that his illustrations were apt and told upon his hearers with capital effect; and that he invariably carried his audience with him, interrupted

[1] Defined in the Century Dictionary as a "cant name for an inhabitant of Illinois." See also Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanisms.

[2] Rev. Matthew Hale Smith.

[3] Hawthorne's account of his visit to Washington in March, 1862, under the title "Chiefly about War-Matters. By a peaceable man," appeared in "The Atlantic Monthly" for July, 1862, x. 43–61.

by sympathetic applause, and concluding his remarks usually in a strain of earnest and persuasive eloquence.

As for our Tremont-Temple occasion, more particularly, on Friday, September 22, the Boston committee in charge had found it difficult to secure a hall for the meeting, and hence proposed to hold the Whig rally in Court Square behind the City Hall. But the weather proved threatening and unpropitious for an open-air gathering, and hence Tremont Temple was procured through special effort, announcement being made by noon of such a change in the arrangements. The building itself of that date occupied the same convenient site on Tremont Street as the present Temple, and afforded the same unique combination of religious and secular revenues to finance a plain congregation of Christian people. Its chief hall, with convenient galleries, could seat a large audience then as now, while at the rear of its broad platform stood an organ with gilded pipes, leaving ample space in front for a full chorus choir. This hall was filled early, that Friday evening, by the great Whig gathering which listened to the two orators from New York and Illinois. The meeting was called to order by William Hayden at eight o'clock. George Lunt was chosen chairman of the meeting, and Ezra Lincoln, Jr., secretary.

Faneuil Hall had been appropriated, most of this same week, for an exhibition of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, which closed, this Friday evening, with a grand banquet, at which some twelve hundred persons were present, both ladies and gentlemen.[1] A band of music enlivened the exercises, and among the post-prandial speakers were Winthrop and Mayor Quincy, whose venerable father was also present. President Marshall P. Wilder of the Society officiated as host. Boston's Music Hall was not yet in existence. The Whigs secured Tremont Temple for their political meeting only through the courtesy of a Dr. Colton, who was showing there at this time a large painting by Rembrandt Peale called "The Court of Death," which occupied three hundred and twelve square feet of canvas and contained twenty-three figures of life size. That exhibition, with Dr. Colton's descriptive lecture, was kindly intermitted for this particular evening, and most likely

[1] Boston Post, September 23, 1848.

the great gruesome picture itself was in the rear of the orators, decently draped for the occasion.

Boston was at this time a strongly Whig city of energy and sobriety, ruled ably and honestly by social leaders of good New England stock, the native Protestant element predominating. Among the city ordinances was one which forbade smoking in the streets. It chanced that metropolitan New York was about this time proposing to confer upon a young sailor "the freedom of the city," in recognition of his gallant behavior at sea during a shipwreck; and the question being widely discussed by the press what this privilege meant, a correspondent of the "Daily Evening Transcript" — that favorite sheet already of tea-table readers and writers, albeit more nearly of a napkin's size to hold in hand than it is now — suggested that "freedom of the city" meant permission to light one's pipe or cigar when he went out walking. It was on October 25th of this year, 1848, that Boston's great celebration occurred, upon the introduction of pure water from Lake Cochituate; a holiday never to be forgotten by the youth of our public schools, who at noon were drawn up in line, under white silk banners, on the Tremont-Street mall of the Common, as the civic procession passed by; falling in behind, afterwards, to join the assembled crowd at the Frog Pond and sing their ode, "My name is Water," when the fountain jet was let on late in the afternoon. That same evening private houses throughout the city were illuminated in the windows by small bottle lamps which held wicks and whale oil; and those same lamps served politically a few evenings after, with scarcely less lustre, to welcome the grand Taylor and Fillmore torchlight parade.

While it is certain that Lincoln's speech at Tremont Temple was in all respects a success, holding the large audience assembled there in close attention to a late hour, no real report of it was given in the next day's papers. This, however, seems to have been owing to an unusual pressure of other matter seeking space in the columns of that Saturday's issue; and because, too, the speech of Seward that evening, unusually thoughtful and suggestive, was what the Whigs had come mainly to hear or wished to read reported. Lincoln, in course of his remarks here and elsewhere, made many happy hits at

our "conscience Whigs," whose defection seems to have caused the chief anxiety of the Massachusetts canvass; but though such derision made much merriment and applause in the audience, there appears no proof that he let himself go with stories and high-flavored allusions, as he had lately done in Congress while discussing Cass, the Democratic candidate. On the contrary, he seems to have repressed such tendencies while in Massachusetts, and to have made his strong points with something of sobriety to suit cultured audiences.

In point of fact the first and initial speech of this visit, which Lincoln made at Worcester, contained the substance of all his subsequent orations while on this brief visit; and that speech borrowed its main argument from his remarks in July on the floor of Congress. That Worcester address of September 12 was well reported the next day in several of our Boston papers; the "Advertiser" report being, indeed, so full and satisfactory that it has gone word for word into the posthumous edition of Abraham Lincoln's works; for Lincoln himself left no note of any speeches made during this campaign. And thus we perceive, first of all, that this self-trained orator from the West, when coming among our more conventional people of the East, felt a certain constraint as to modes of expression, such as he showed again in 1860 when in New York City. For, as the "Advertiser" of September 14, 1848, reports, he opened his Worcester speech with somewhat deprecating humor, announcing his diffidence in addressing an audience "this side of the mountains," where, as those of his own section believed, "everybody was supposed to be instructed and wise."

Quaint idioms and droll turns of expression gave doubtless a piquancy and zest to Lincoln's utterances on this tour, while all his flings of fun at the opposition were good-natured. Yet if he really felt during his visit in a racy and rollicking mood, it was probably on the last appearance at Tremont Temple; for by that time he was familiar with the fibre of his argument as well as with the moods of a Massachusetts Whig audience. Yet the only jocular remarks in these ten days' speeches which are really in evidence are two. According to the "Advertiser," when speaking of the Free-soil platform, — a non-committal one upon all points except as to slave extension, — he likened its adaptability of principles to the pair of pantaloons offered

for sale by a peddler which were "large enough for any man, small enough for any boy."[1] And again the "Boston Courier" of September 23 reports an allusion which he made in his Boston speech to the Free-soil supporters of Van Buren as "pseudo-Whigs" who had "hitched themselves on the skirts of that 'artful dodger' of Kinderhook."

Lincoln's logic, here as always, took a plain and original line, and carried conviction to his hearers; yet in 1848 it was not wholly devoid of casuistry. The Whig candidate had been curbed by his managers in letter-writing on political topics while the election was pending; hence opponents argued, not without pertinence, that General Taylor had no political principles at all. Against such a charge Lincoln defended the hero by arguing that Taylor had a principle, and that was that the people's will should be obeyed by a President and not frustrated by interposing the veto power. Such a candidate, he claimed, stands well in contrast with leaders like Clay, who tell us in advance what they think should be done, while "old rough and ready," reserved on such points, is content to act right when the time comes and allow the people, through their chosen representatives in Congress, to have their own way. As a matter of fact, Zachary Taylor proved as President to have an opinion of his own, and a decided one, on the chief issue of the day, and had he lived out his term Clay's compromise measures of 1850 would most likely have failed. So, again, Lincoln held up Van Buren as obsequious to his forceful master, Andrew Jackson, both in Texas annexation and the Mexican war; and this, again, was hardly just. Van Buren, as it proved, did the Whigs great service in this campaign by his Free-soil candidacy, for he thus diverted the Democratic vote of New York from Cass, the regular candidate of the party, and paid off neatly an old score of his own.

Massachusetts Whigs at this time wished the "Wilmot proviso," or ordinance of freedom, applied to all the new territory beyond the Rio Grande which we were wresting from Mexico; and their hope was well founded that Taylor would not veto any measure of that kind which might pass Congress. Such was at this time the great national issue which divided North and South, antedating by only a few years, as it proved, the

[1] 2 Proceedings, ii. 416.

struggle over free territory whose renewal under other auspices tolled the death knell of American slavery. Lincoln felt deeply on this territorial issue in 1848, yet not so deeply as he came to feel when that same issue arose again. As to slavery, he said in his Worcester speech that the people of Illinois agreed entirely with the people of Massachusetts on this subject, except perhaps that they did not keep so constantly thinking about it. Seward's speech at Tremont Temple, however, — which "The Boston Daily Atlas" the next day, the 23d, reported fully, — struck the keynote of a bolder utterance, and tradition relates that Lincoln gained inspiration from it.[1] Seward proclaimed on this occasion that the time would come, and that too in his day, when the free people would free the slaves of this country. This, however, he added with less of prophetic foresight, would be accomplished by moral force — by paying a national remuneration for so great a blessing.

We would gladly know, but we cannot find out, what were the attendant circumstances of this ten days' visit of Abraham Lincoln to Boston and its neighborhood. Current chronicle fails frequently to comprehend what details of the present are most likely to interest a coming generation. How our great leader of later years employed his leisure while among us, where he lodged,[2] with whom he affiliated, how socially he employed his time, what Boston thought of him personally or he of Boston, — on all such points as these we are left in inevitable doubt. The Boston press of 1848 was not given to idle gossip over the private relations of people; nor had that convenient custom of interviewing noted guests and visitors come so early into vogue. Quite likely the giant form of our Illinois statesman was seen strolling on Boston Common, or exploring our historic buildings, or gazing upward at the new

[1] J. Schouler, History of the United States, v. 112, note.

[2] Since this paper was read, I have been referred to an interesting letter by "Templeton" in "The Boston [Sunday] Herald" of April 26, 1885, page 13. It was written from personal recollection by George Harris Monroe, who was before his death a Resident Member of our Historical Society. His description of 1848 relates particularly to the orator's afternoon visit and speech at Dedham, preceding the evening engagement for Cambridge. It would appear from this letter that Lincoln made the Tremont House his headquarters while in Boston. It was there that the Norfolk County Whig Committee, of which Mr. Monroe was a member, visited him and procured his attendance.

granite shaft of Bunker Hill. Perhaps on some leisure occasion he dropped in at the Museum to see one of those protean performances in which Warren figured, or at darkened Amory Hall enjoyed Bayne's panoramic Voyage to Europe with its pianoforte interludes and a storm at sea. At Worcester he very likely met Levi Lincoln and Senator John Davis, while at the convention in that city he must have listened to the Whig eloquence of Choate and Winthrop. Perhaps he called upon the last-named when in Boston, to pay his respects, for Winthrop was at this time Speaker of the House at Washington, and owed his single Illinois vote for that post to our present sojourner. Josiah Quincy, Jr., the mayor of Boston this year, was a man of marked politeness and urbanity, and from him our visitor may have received attentions. But Lincoln is not reported as present personally at the Horticultural banquet, though Seward was there and managed to speak both at Faneuil Hall and Tremont Temple that same Friday evening, the 22d. Of the Adamses Lincoln probably saw little, for Charles Francis Adams was running for Vice-President on that same Van Buren ticket which our orator aspersed so freely. Nor could he have come very close to Webster, for that godlike of men still sulked at Marshfield over General Taylor's nomination, pronouncing it not fit to be made.

In those Whig days so many prominent families of Massachusetts were identified with active politics in one way or another that some fellow-members of this Society may have traditions to impart regarding Lincoln's visit of 1848; and if so, their statements ought to be taken for permanent record before all such recollections pass into oblivion. I have a paternal incident of the kind, and I venture to relate it. In 1848 William Schouler was editor and publisher of "The Boston Daily Atlas," a leading Whig organ of New England in its day which perished with the Whig party itself. The counting-room of the "Atlas," as I well remember, was in the Old State House; while its printing and editorial rooms occupied a gloomy brick building in the rear of that dingy but historic alley running from the old Court House to Cornhill, which to this day bears the imposing name of Franklin Avenue. Down that dingy alley and into the gloomy brick building strode Abraham Lincoln one day, in the course of his present visit, and, toiling up the dark staircase, made a call upon this "Atlas"

editor to have a free talk with him over the national outlook. This talk he recalled with jocular comment when domiciled at the White House in 1861. I still hold in family possession two letters [1] which Lincoln wrote to "Friend Schooler" from Washington shortly before he came to Massachusetts in 1848; and a third, still more familiar in tone, was mailed from Washington soon after Taylor's election, and I find it printed in the posthumous collection of Lincoln's works. Doubtless that last letter made its way back into the writer's own hands on the White House occasion to which I allude.

[1] The letters above referred to, hitherto unpublished, which Abraham Lincoln wrote while a member of Congress, are as follows:

WASHINGTON, August 8, 1848.

FRIEND SCHOOLER, — I am remaining here for two weeks to frank documents. Now that the Presidential candidates are all set, I will thank you for your undisguised opinion as to what New England generally and Massachusetts particularly will do. Your opinion as to the nomination of Taylor held so good that I have confidence in your predictions. Very truly yours,

A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, August 28, 1848.

FRIEND SCHOOLER, — Your letter of the 21st was received two or three days ago, and for which please accept my thanks, both for your courtesy and the encouraging news in it. The news we are receiving here now from all parts is on the look-up. We have had several letters from Ohio to-day, all encouraging. Two of them inform us that Hon. C. B. Smith, on his way here, addressed a larger and more enthusiastic audience, at Cincinnati, than has been seen in that city since 1840. Smith himself wrote one of the letters; and he says the signs are decidedly good. Letters from the Reserve are of the same character. The tone of the letters — free from despondency — full of hope — is what particularly encourages me. If a man is scared when he writes, I think I can detect it, when I see what he writes.

I would rather not be put upon explaining how Logan was defeated in my district. In the first place I have no particulars from there, my friends, supposing I am on the road home, not having written me. Whether there was a full turn out of the voters I have as yet not learned. The most I can now say is that a good many Whigs, without good cause, as I think, were unwilling to go for Logan, and some of them so wrote me before the election. On the other hand Harris was a Major of the war, and fought at Cerro Gordo, where several Whigs of the district fought with him. These two facts and their effects, I presume tell the whole story. That there is any political change against us in the district I cannot believe; because I wrote some time ago to every county of the district for an account of changes; and, in answer I got the names of four against us, eighty-three for us. I dislike to predict, but it seems to me the district must and will be found right side up again in November. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

The third letter to "Friend Schooler," dated from Washington, February 2, 1849, is published in Abraham Lincoln's Works, by J. G. Nicolay and J. Hay, i. 149; and evidently the editors could not identify the recipient.

Such, then, is the narrative, so far as I am able to construct it, of the only political visit to this vicinity — and in truth of the only genuine visit at all — ever made by that fellow-citizen and stranger from the West whose name in twenty years was to ring down the grooves of time. On this point I am confirmed by his eminent son, Hon. Robert Todd Lincoln, from whom I have lately received three letters on the present subject, which I am permitted to print with this paper.[1] That son went through Harvard during the era of our Civil War, but the President, his father, never came to Massachusetts to

[1] The three letters received by me from Hon. Robert T. Lincoln are as follows:

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA, December 27, 1907.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your letter of the 19th instant comes to me here, accompanied by some memoranda from my secretary in Chicago, Mr. Sweet, who was able at once to lay his hands upon some correspondence which enables me to answer your inquiry with certainty.

I can say at once that you are entirely correct in your supposition that my father's speech in Boston in 1848 was made on the only political visit that he ever made to Boston. I am quite sure of this. He never came to Boston in connection with my course of education at Harvard, but he made a visit to New England in the winter of 1860 in order to visit me at Exeter, N. H., where I was then a student in the Phillips Academy.

The circumstances and principal instances of the visit are as follows: At the time he made his speech at the Cooper Institute in New York in February, 1860, he mentioned to several people that he had no further plans except to visit me at Exeter, where I had gone six months before to prepare for the entrance examinations of Harvard in the summer of 1860. In consequence he was requested to make a speech at Providence, R. I., which he did on February 28th. He then went to Exeter, N. H., to see me, and I think he spoke there on the night of February 29th. I remember the occasion very well, but am not entirely sure of the date. It could be learned easily by examination of the files of the Exeter News Letter. On March 1st he spoke in the afternoon at Concord, N. H., and in the evening at Manchester, N. H. On the evening of March 2nd he spoke at Dover, N. H. I was with him on this little New Hampshire tour. He returned to Exeter, spending Sunday, March 4th, with me, and proceeded on his homeward journey making the following speeches: March 5th, Hartford, Ct.; March 6th, Meriden, Ct.; March 7th, New Haven, Ct.; March 8th, Woonsocket, R. I.; March 9th, Norwalk, Ct.; March 10th, Bridgeport, Ct. I am quite sure that in coming and going he passed through Boston merely as an unknown traveller.

Believe me,

Very truly yours,

ROBERT T. LINCOLN.

CHICAGO, January 29, 1908.

MY DEAR SIR, — I duly received your note of the 1st of January and did not acknowledge it because in it you state that you would make use of my letter unless you heard from me to the contrary. I have, of course, no objection to the use of the facts I gave in it.

Since then I have come across a letter written by my father to my mother on

see him there. He did, however, as a private citizen, make the son a visit at Exeter, while the latter was fitting there for college in 1860, journeying thither from New York City on February 27 of that year, after making his speech at the Cooper Institute. This parental visit gave occasion for various speeches in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, before the return in March to Illinois.

But Lincoln did not speak in Massachusetts at all on that latter tour to New England, and he passed through Boston, if he passed at all, only as a casual and unknown traveller. For this, I think, there was some special reason; and I impute it to the fact that the Republicans of Massachusetts held their

March 4th, at Exeter, N. H., in which he wrote to her of what he had already done, and of his engagements up to and including the speech to be made at Woonsocket, R. I., on Thursday March 8th. This makes up nine speeches after his New York speech, and is the list which he refers to in what I will now quote to you. "I have been unable to escape this toil. If I had foreseen it, I think I would not have come east at all. The speech at New York, being within my calculation before I started, went off passably well and gave me no trouble whatever. The difficulty was to make nine others, before reading audiences who had already seen all my ideas in print."

I think his comment on the work is interesting in view of the effect which was being made upon his future career without thought of it by him, by his unanticipated speeches, which would not have been made but for his visit to a school boy. Believe me, Very sincerely yours,

ROBERT T. LINCOLN.

MANCHESTER, VT., October 22, 1908.

MY DEAR SIR, — I receive here your letter of October 17th, in which you ask if I can give you any information regarding my father's visit to Massachusetts in 1848. Of course I could have no personal recollection of the matter, for at that time I was only three years of age, and I am sorry to say that I have no other information on the subject which you do not already have.

Mr. Sweet, my assistant in Chicago, who is about as familiar with my personal affairs as I am myself, and in some respects more so, sends me your letter, saying that he has gone through my father's papers, but finds nothing in them relating to his visit to Massachusetts in 1848, except a paragraph in his autobiography in which he speaks of his advocacy of General Taylor's election and of his speaking several times in Massachusetts. You probably have access to this document yourself, but for your convenience I send you the copy which Mr. Sweet sent to me.

I am very sorry that I cannot give you any further information on the subject, but I do not know where I could obtain anything additional. Very truly yours,

ROBERT T. LINCOLN.

Extract from Abraham Lincoln's Autobiography enclosed: "In 1848, during his term in Congress, he advocated Gen. Taylor's nomination to the Presidency, in opposition to all others, and also took an active part for his election after his nomination, speaking a few times in Maryland, near Washington, several times in Massachusetts, and canvassing quite fully his own district in Illinois, which was followed by a majority in the district of over 1500 for Gen. Taylor."

convention at Worcester at this very time — namely, on the 7th of March — to nominate delegates at large for the national party convention which was to assemble at Chicago. Abraham Lincoln was invited to attend this convention of 1860 at Worcester, — renewing thus his political memories of 1848, — and the press announced him for an address at that gathering; but he pleaded engagements elsewhere and did not come. It happened that the favorite of this Massachusetts Republican convention was Seward, and Lincoln's invitation must have been extended to him without the remotest idea that he and not Seward would prove to be the party's nominee for the Presidency and lead to victory. But Lincoln's published correspondence shows that he already knew of the preparations his Illinois friends were making at home to place him before the convention at Chicago, when the time came, as irresistibly the candidate. Hence, as I infer, a sense of delicacy caused him to keep clear altogether of Massachusetts Republicans and their State convention at such a time.

The following unpublished letter of Lincoln to Mr. James is in the Washburn collection, in the manuscripts of the Society:

SPRINGFIELD, Feb. 9, 1846.

DEAR JAMES, — You have seen, or will see what I am inclined to think you will regard as rather an extraordinary communication in the Morgan Journal. The "excessive modesty" of its tone is certainly admirable. As an excuse for getting before the public, the writer sets out with a pretence of answering an article which I believe appeared in the Lacon paper some time since, taking the ground that the Pekin convention had settled the rotation principle. Now whether the Pekin convention did or did not settle that principle, I care not. If I am not, in what I *have done*, and am *able to do*, for the party, near enough the equal of Gen[l] Hardin, to entitle me to the nomination, now that he has one, I scorn it on *any* and *all* other grounds.

So far then, as this Morgan Journal communication may relate to the Pekin convention, I rather prefer that your paper shall let it "stink and die" unnoticed.

There is, however, as you will see, another thing in the communication which is an attempt to injure me because of my declining to reccommend the adoption of a *new plan*, for the selecting a candidate. The attempt is to make it appear that I am unwilling to have a *fair* expression of the whigs of the District upon our respective claims. Now

nothing can be more false in fact; and if Gen[l] Hardin, had chosen to furnish his friend with my *written reason* for declining that part of his plan; and that friend had chosen to publish that *reason*, instead of his own construction of the act, the falsehood of his insinuation would have been most apparant. That written reason was as follows, towit:

"As to your proposals that a poll shall be opened in *every* precinct, and that the whole shall take place on the *same* day, I do not personally object. They seem to me to not be unfair; and I forbear to join in proposing them, only because I rather choose to leave the decision in each county, to the whigs of the county, to be made as their own judgment and convenience may dictate."

I send you this as a weapon with which to demolish, what I can not but regard as a mean insinuation against me. You may use it as you please; I prefer however that you should show it to some of our friends, and not publish it, unless in your judgment it becomes rather urgently necessary. The reason I want to keep all points of controversy out of the papers, so far as possible, is, that it will be *just all we can do*, to keep out of a quarrel — and I am resolved to do my part to keep peace. Yours truly

A. LINCOLN.

[Addressed] B. F. JAMES, Tremont, Illinois.

Mr. RANTOUL spoke substantially as follows:

It seems to be expected, in this year of grace, that everybody who has any first-hand knowledge of Abraham Lincoln will share it with the public. I was visiting Washington in January, 1863, and saw Mr. Lincoln for the first time at a public reception in the East Room of the White House. When he got my card from the officer in attendance, he repeated the name to himself several times and then said: "I wonder if you are connected with a lawyer of that name who came to Illinois, about 1850, to secure from our legislature the charter of the Illinois Central Railroad?" I told him that was my father. Upon which he burst forth with a great roar of laughter and much gesticulation, and said that he did all he could to stop it, but was not successful. He said he was retained by local capitalists who, although they could not then build the road as they had already been intending, were very unwilling that eastern capitalists should step in and secure a grant which would make it forever impossible for them to build a road. But they were defeated. He favored me with some minutes of interesting conversation on this theme, and spoke with such

amused good-humor of the incident that my reception whetted rather than allayed my curiosity to see more of this extraordinary man. I had done what I could to help secure his election in 1860, and had, five years before that date, been active in the organization of the Republican party of Massachusetts. I may add that I saw Mr. Lincoln a number of times after that day.

Our Essex Congressman at that time was John B. Alley, one of a little group of business men in Congress upon whose knowledge of financial matters Mr. Lincoln was much inclined to lean. The Boston Congressman, Samuel Hooper, was another of them. Mr. Alley asked me and Mr. Endicott, our associate member, who was in Washington at the time, if we would like to see Mr. Lincoln in the privacy of his own office and in absolute freedom from constraint. If so, he could readily secure an appointment with him at some early hour, before he put on his harness for the duties of the day. Of course we assented, and an interview was arranged. We met the President, only the three other persons named being present, in the little office where he had his war-maps and writing materials, but almost no furniture. A three-quarters-length portrait of President Jackson hung over the fireplace. Here Mr. Lincoln, in absolute disregard of all conventionalisms whether of speech or bearing, allowed his conversation to ramble on from topic to topic in a way that gave more insight into the workings of his mind than an hour passed in his presence under any other circumstances could have afforded.

I omit all reference to his very extraordinary personality, so often described and now familiar, except to note that he had a habit, constantly practised by Rufus Choate, of passing his right hand slowly around his head and through his unkempt hair, when actively engaged in thought. His clothing was in hopeless disorder, and I thought him then, and think him now, the most ungainly man I have ever seen. His features, not so familiar then as they are now, were strong, expressive, and sympathetic, and lighted up with intelligence and enthusiasm the moment his mind found itself in touch with another.

Much of the time of the interview was consumed in questioning me as to public men in Massachusetts. After renewing his inquiries about my father, who had died in 1852, he passed

to Rufus Choate, who had died in 1859, and in whom he seemed greatly interested. He then took up, in turn, Garrison and Wendell Phillips, — then living leaders of thought, — and, I think I am right in adding, Theodore Parker, who had died two years before. Upon all these he asked questions and made comments which showed so great an insight into the personal politics of our section as to be truly astonishing. After learning all I was able to tell of the attitude of these and some other Massachusetts men, and of the estimation in which they were held at home, he took up Robert C. Winthrop, and began to speak of him with an interest which amounted to enthusiasm. This surprised me, for the two men seemed to be the antipodes of one another. He told us that he had been travelling in New England on a professional or political errand, when he learned from the newspapers that by stopping over a day or two he would be able to attend a Whig State Convention in Massachusetts. The temptation was too great to be resisted. He had long been curious to see how these matters were conducted in Massachusetts, because, while he was sure our methods must be very different from those in use at the West, he had formed little idea what our methods were. Accordingly he indulged himself in a little delay, and was rewarded by listening to a speech of Mr. Winthrop in the convention,[1] which he pronounced without qualification to have been the best occasional address of the kind he had ever listened to before or since.[2] It should be said that he had known Mr. Winthrop in Washington. They were members of the same Congress, and Mr. Winthrop had been the Speaker of it. In fact, Lincoln might claim to have elected Winthrop to the Speakership, for he voted for Winthrop and the choice was decided by a single vote.

This kindly and enthusiastic reference, from the lips of the great man we are now commemorating, to the long-time President of this Society must excuse my occupying, with matters so largely personal, the attention of this meeting. And I think that the recital of these facts tends to throw a side-light on the political methods of Mr. Lincoln. If Mr. Lincoln knew as much of the personnel of local politics all over this broad

[1] This was the convention mentioned in Mr. Schouler's paper, 71, 72, *ante*.

[2] R. C. Winthrop, Jr., Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop, 87, 88.

domain as he knew of the personnel of local politics in Massachusetts, he had a genius for detail worthy of the first Napoleon. It lets us into the nature of the political training in which he was schooled and which stood him in such good stead after he had reached a height where he could, to a degree, forego personal politics and deal more largely with guiding principles and with men in the mass. It seems to show that, like an athlete, he had made himself strong by carefully taking the measure of his antagonists in all the stages of his progress, — first the lesser and then the greater, — and that he was keenly interested to know every seam and joint in the armor of any public man with whom he might possibly be called upon to break a lance.

Dr. GREEN read a paper, as follows:

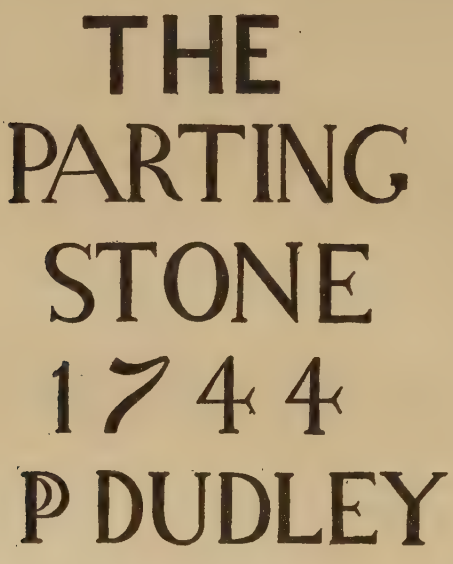
OLD MILE-STONES LEADING FROM BOSTON.

The earliest legislation in this Commonwealth on the subject of guide-posts bears date February 28, 1795. At that time an Act was passed by the General Court requiring the selectmen of the several towns and districts, under certain conditions, to erect guide-posts at the corners and angles of all roads in such towns and districts; and imposing penalties for non-compliance with the law. Before that time, in a few towns, individuals had set up stones by the roadside, marking the distance and direction to some important town; and these persons often added their own initials, as well as the year when the stones were placed.

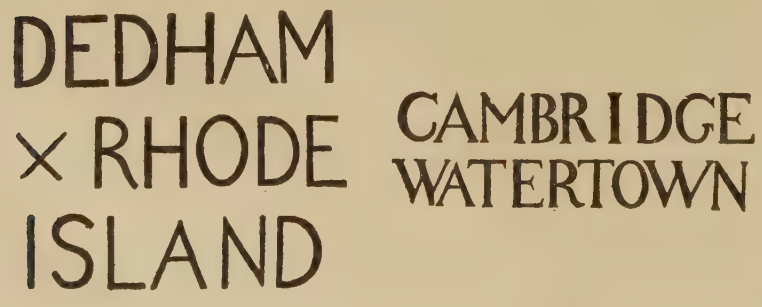
Numerous mile-stones are now to be found by roadsides on the way from Boston to Milton, Providence, and Cambridge. It is known that some of these stones were set up by Paul Dudley, Chief-Justice of the Province, as they bear his name or initials; and probably others were, though they do not bear them. In the eighteenth century it was not uncommon for a well-to-do man in the community to place mile-stones by the roadside along the main thoroughfares mostly for the convenience of wayfarers, but perhaps partly for his own glorification, as he often added his own initials to the inscriptions. In speaking of the Chief-Justice, our late associate Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff says: "He was buried in the tomb of his fathers; but his epitaphs are only to be read on the numerous

mile-stones that skirt the roads in Norfolk County. One of these, erected in 1744, may be seen near the Norfolk House, at the corner of Centre and Washington streets, on Eliot square, . . . This old Parting Stone has undoubtedly pointed the way to what was once considered the termination of civilization" (Topographical History of Boston, p. 274).

The first inscription is on the front of the stone and faces Eliot Square;



and the other inscriptions appear, respectively, on the southerly and northerly sides.



Leaving the Parting Stone at the corner of Roxbury and Centre streets, — as known to-day, — in Eliot Square, Roxbury, the right-hand road led off to Cambridge, and was the nearest way to that town, as then there was no bridge over the Charles River from Boston. The left-hand road led to Providence by the way of Dedham; and at that period each of these roads was flanked by stones marking the miles for a considerable distance. Most of these wayside monuments bear the initials "P D," which point to the man who caused them to be erected. Several of the stones are now missing, but some still remain. The distance was taken from the Town-house in Boston, now known as the Old State House. The following entries in Chief-Justice Sewall's Diary show this fact:

Feria secunda, July, 14th 1707. Mr. Antram and I, having Benj. Smith and David to wait on us, Measured with his Wheel from the Town-House Two Miles, and drove down Stakes at each Mile's end, in order to placing Stone-posts in convenient time. From the Town-House to the Oak and Walnut, is a Mile wanting 21½ Rods. Got home again about Eight aclock (ii. 192).

Feria quinta, Augt 7th 1707. Peter Weare set up the Stone Post to shew a Mile from the Town-House ends: Silence Allen, Mr. Gibbons's Son, Mr. Thrasher, —— Salter, Wm Wheelers —— Simpson and a Carter assisted, made a Plumb-Line of his Whip. Being Lecture-day, I sent David with Mr. Weare to shew him where the second should be set; were only two little Boys besides (ii. 193).

When Judge Sewall made his measurement of the distances from the Town-house, the neck of land connecting Roxbury with the peninsula was a very narrow strip along the water's edge, not wholly straight but conforming to the shore line. Since that period of time some streets have been straightened, and others laid out anew, but in this paper, for the sake of convenience, I shall use in each instance the modern name of the several streets mentioned.

According to Bonner's Map of Boston, published in 1722, the first mile-stone from the Town-house was placed on the west side of Washington Street, near Lucas Street. The second stone was set, probably, near Willard Place, a little south of Camden Street. These two stones, mentioned by Sewall in

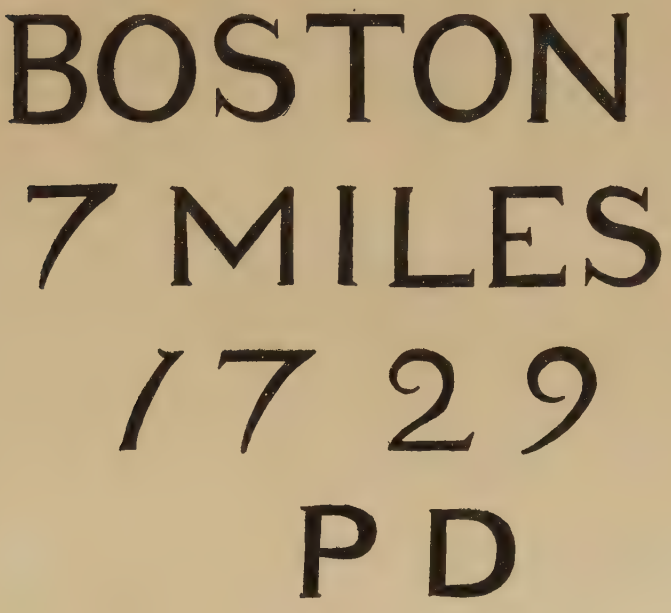
his Diary, began the series which at a later period was continued by Dudley and Belcher, hereinafter to be described.

On the way to Cambridge three stones are still standing,

BOSTON
4 MILES
1729
P D

BOSTON
5 MILES
1729
P D

which mark the fourth, fifth, and seventh miles, respectively, all bearing the "P D" initials. The fourth stone stands on the inner side of the walk, against the board fence surrounding the grounds of the House of the Good Shepherd. The fifth stone stands in the grounds of the Harvard Church, Brookline; and the sixth has disappeared. The seventh stone



stands in the yard of the Primary School-house, North Harvard Street, Brighton. The fifth and seventh stones were placed originally on the opposite side of the street.

The eighth stone in the series once stood in Harvard Square, Cambridge, ending the line of guide-posts in that direction, though it does not belong to the Dudley group. It stood originally near the town-house in the Square, at what was later the fork of the roads, — one going by the old road to Brighton, then a part of Cambridge, Brookline, and Roxbury, and the other toward Boston. It bore on the front face the following inscription:

BOSTON
8 MILES
1734
A I

This distance was by the old road through Brookline and Roxbury; and the two initial letters stand for Abraham Ireland, a surveyor of that period. More than a half century after the stone was originally set, the West Boston Bridge — now represented by the Cambridge Bridge — was opened in the autumn of 1793, and another inscription was placed on the rear face.

Thus the stone was made to do double duty as a guide-post, though after that year the new bridge must have taken all the travel going to Boston.

The Harvard Square mile-stone has had a curious history; and as Mr. John Langdon Sibley, the most munificent benefactor of the Historical Society, was interested in it, and had a hand in one of its new placings, I give here a detailed account of it. In some digging by the town authorities, — or perhaps in the removal of the old market, which took place about 1830, — the stone, no longer needed, became buried in the rubbish, and thus was lost to sight. Many years afterward, in building the hay scales, it came to view again when with other stones it was carried to the city stables to be broken up or used as dumping material.

The inscription on the rear face is as follows:

CAMBRIDGE

NEW BRIDGE

2¼ Miles

1794

Moses King, in his "Harvard and its Surroundings" (1882), has the following paragraph:

> We are now in the vicinity of the "Old Mile Stone" that projects above the curb on the west side of the college yard near Dane Hall. The librarian emeritus [Mr. Sibley] found the stone after it had been for many years lost to public view, and planted it near the spot where it was originally placed by the surveyor, Abraham Ireland, whose initials form part of the inscription (p. 77).

At an earlier time, perhaps as late as 1865 or 1870, the stone had been placed between the sidewalk and the curbstone, where it attracted considerable attention. It stood just north of the present entrance to the gate erected by the Class of 1875; and it always caused comment on the part of those who could not explain the fact that it was eight miles to Boston. The stone remained here, near the edge of the sidewalk, for perhaps

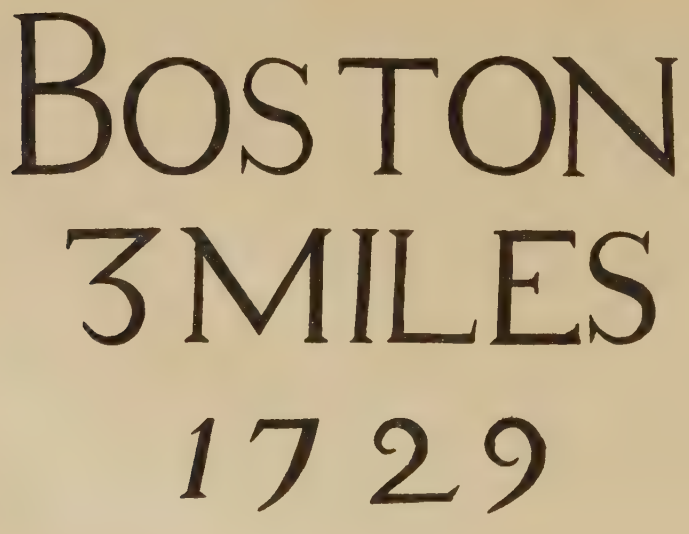
twenty or twenty-five years, until 1892, when it was removed across the street to its present site in the Burying-ground, where it stands at the north-east corner.

It was largely through the efforts of Mr. George Savil Saunders, at that time chairman of the Cemetery Commission, that this last change was made. The public owes much to him and his brother, the late William Augustus Saunders, for the intelligent interest which they both took in saving the stone.

It seems unlikely that this old mile-stone will ever be disturbed again; and now that its use has long been superseded, it accords with the fitness of things that it should stand near the grave of Abraham Ireland, — as shown by Harris's Cambridge Epitaphs (p. 104), — who first set it up as a public utility.

Leaving the Parting Stone again, and taking the left-hand road, which led off to Dedham and Providence, we find now the third, fourth, fifth (at Jamaica Plain), and sixth mile-stones, flanking Centre Street (the third stone not marked "P D"). The numeration of these miles began at the Town-house in Boston; and the series of stones placed by Paul Dudley was a continuation of those already set up by Judge Sewall.

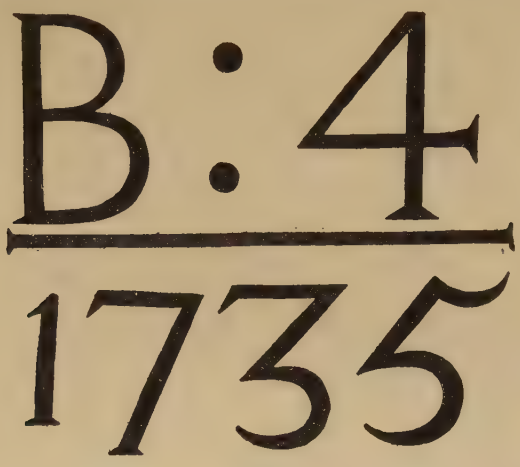
The stone marking the third mile in the Dudley series stands



on the southerly side of Centre Street, diagonally opposite to and easterly of Gardner Street, on the inside of the sidewalk.

Size of the stone: 30 inches wide, 23 inches high, and 7 inches thick.

The fourth stone stood near Forbes Street, nearly opposite to Creighton Street. On August 10, 1889, it was taken up by Mr. Elisha Charles Burford, trimmed down and set in the retaining wall in front of his house, at 364 Centre Street.



Size: 21 inches wide, 15 inches high, and 11 inches thick.

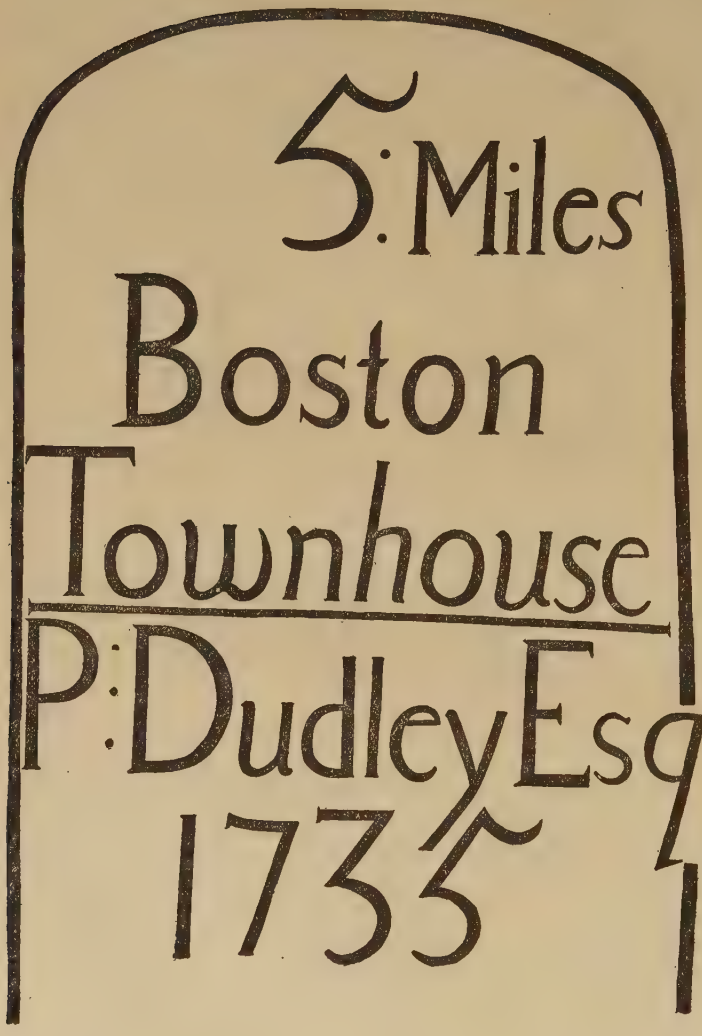
The fifth stone stands near the northerly corner of Eliot Street, on the inside of the sidewalk.

Size: 32 inches wide, 45 inches high, and 10 inches thick.

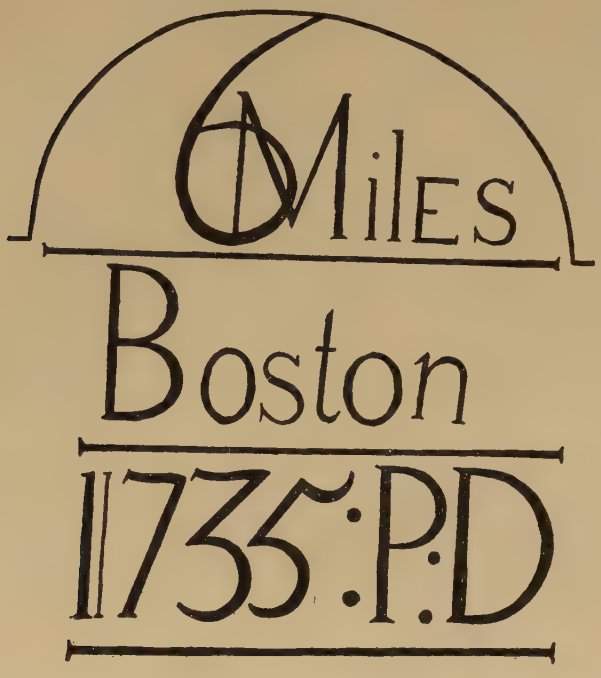
The sixth stone — the last one in the Dudley series on this line — is found opposite to Allandale Street, placed in the wall on the easterly side of Centre Street.

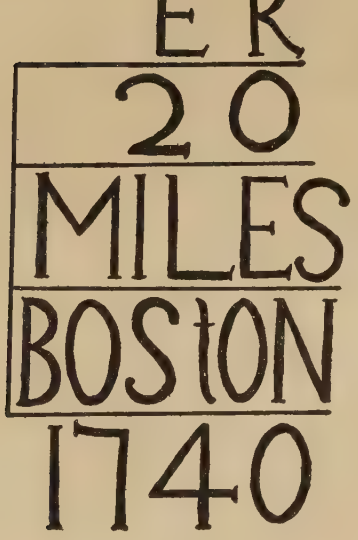
Size: 27 inches wide, and 45 inches high.

Another mile-stone on the way to Providence stands in Walpole, twenty miles from Boston, and was placed originally by Ezekiel Robbins, the keeper of the Brass Ball tavern in that town. A cut of this stone is given in the lower half of page 97. The following account of it is taken from the "Dedham Historical Register" for April, 1900:



An old milestone, . . . bearing the inscription stood on the southerly side of West Street, a little beyond the tavern, the place chosen marking a relay on the oldest stage road to Providence. The stone was dug out and allowed to lie forgotten for some time after the road was widened, until about five years ago, when Mr. Wilmarth, one of the

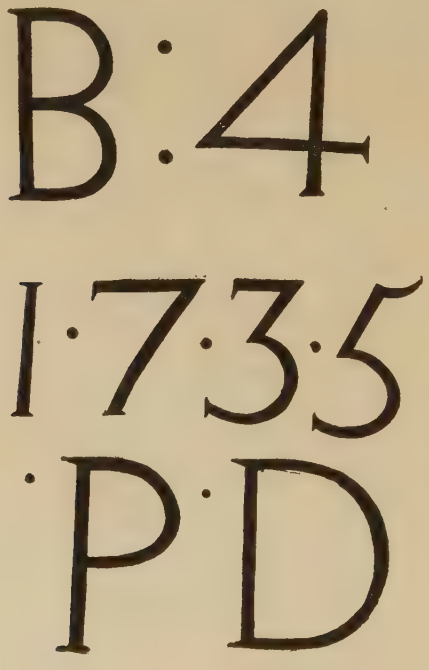

0 Miles
Boston
1735 P D


E R
20
MILES
BOSTON
1740

old residents, rescued it from possible loss and placed it before the town hall, where it now stands (xi. 35).

Another series of Paul-Dudley stones is found going toward Milton, in continuation of the Sewall stones, which ended near Camden Street in Boston.

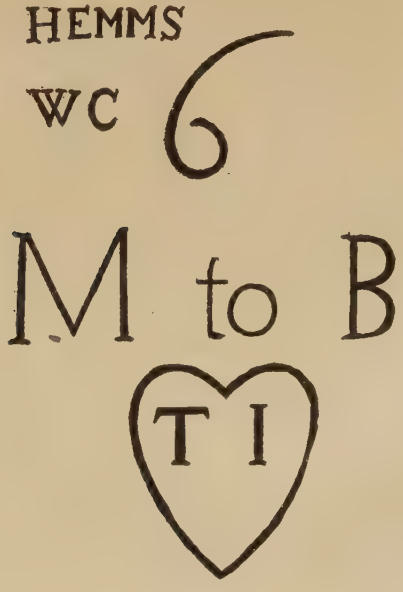
In early times there were two roads to Milton, — both beginning at different points in Washington Street, Roxbury, and passing through Dorchester, — which were known as the upper road and the lower road. For the sake of convenience I use the modern name of streets in describing these two thoroughfares. The upper one in the main followed the way now represented by Warren Street and by Washington Street, Dorchester; and the lower one, the way now represented by Eustis and Adams Streets and other connecting links; and they both come together at the Lower Mills, on the Dorchester side of the Neponset River. In more recent times these two old roads in certain places have been widened and straightened so much that it is difficult to give exactly their course along modern streets.



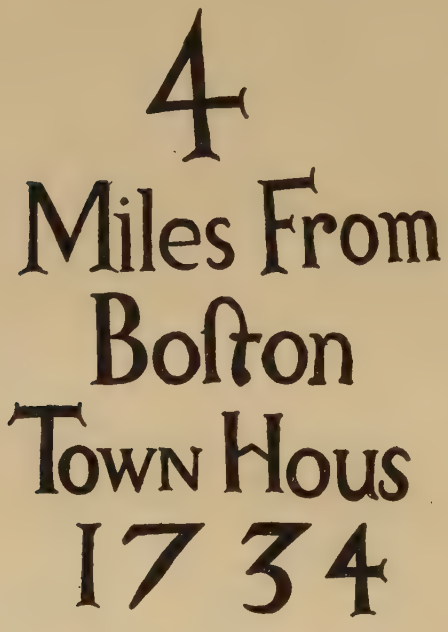
On the upper road to Milton, here mentioned, stands a "P D" stone at Grove Hall marking four miles from Boston, but the third mile-stone on this road is now missing, though it was in place twenty years ago.

A longer time ago — perhaps twenty-five years — there stood another stone on the westerly side of Washington Street, Dorchester, near School Street, — which marked the fifth mile from Boston, — but this is now gone. It is not known to-day by whom it was placed. A sixth mile-stone in this series is found at the south corner of Mora Street, but it does not belong to the Paul-Dudley group. I draw this inference from the fact that the stone itself is of a different style in the cutting, though the meaning of the letters or characters there seen is obscure, — perhaps they stood for names of persons.

Along the lower road was another series of stones marking distances from the Town-house in Boston, which were placed probably by Jonathan Belcher, Governor of the Province, who bought an estate at Milton in the year 1727. This group was a continuation of the Sewall series, as was the Dudley group, although some of the stones are now missing.



The third stone stood probably near Clarence Street, but is now gone. The fourth stone stood opposite to Trull Street, but in recent times it has been removed from the original site and set up at the left of the entrance to the building of the Dorchester Historical Society, formerly known as the Blake house, situated in Pond Street.



The following inscription on a wooden tablet affixed to the house has been placed just above the stone:

OLD DORCHESTER MILE STONE
ERECTED DURING THE
ADMINISTRATION OF GOV. BELCHER
IN 1734 ON HANCOCK OPPOSITE TRVLL ST.
REMOVED TO THIS SPOT
ON DORCHESTER DAY JUNE 8, 1907.

A volume (pp. 117) containing the proceedings on this occasion was published by the city of Boston, which has as a frontispiece a half-tone print of the stone, together with a group of persons who took part in the exercises.

The fifth stone, perhaps placed between Leonard and Dickens Streets, has now disappeared; and also the sixth stone somewhere near Ashmont Street.

The seventh stone stood on Adams Street, opposite to the south corner of Dorchester Park. It bears the following inscription:

7

Miles to Boſton

Town-houſe.

1734.

H

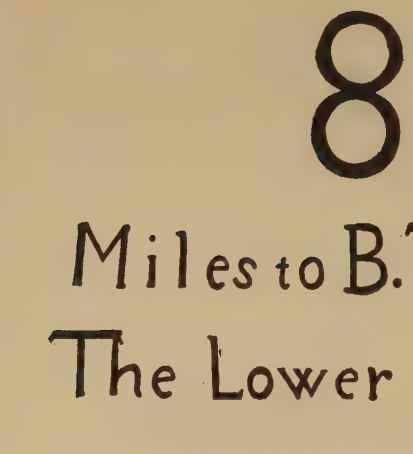
The Rev. Albert K. Teele, in his "History of Milton, Mass." (1887), while writing of this stone, says:

> There is a stone of the same [Belcher] line built into the wall on the south side of Adams street, Dorchester, a few rods from the end of Richmond street, and others may be found at points nearer Boston (p. 112).

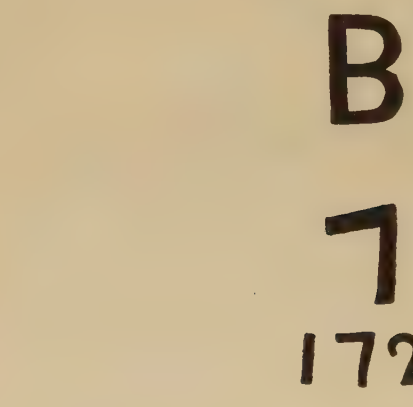
Some years later, perhaps in 1895, this stone was removed from its original site across the street and built into the wall of the Dorchester Park by the Park Commission.

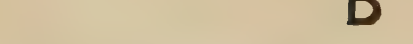
Size: the stone of which only the face shows, 22 inches wide and 30 inches high.

In the wall on the north side of Adams Street, on the top of Milton Hill, near the entrance to the estate of the late Colonel Oliver W. Peabody, and a short distance south of the Hutchinson Field, is the eighth mile-stone of the Belcher group, last of the series now standing.

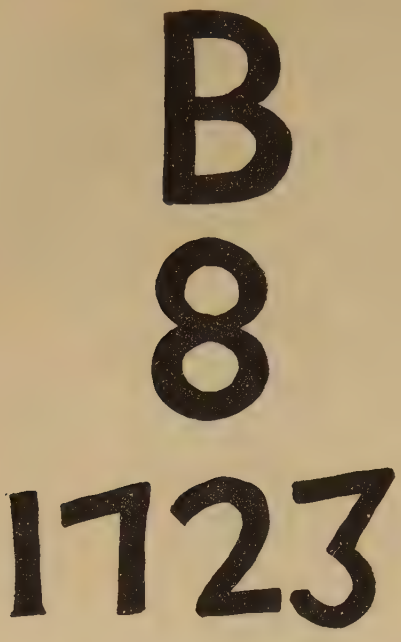


Size: 21 inches wide, 24 inches high, and 7 inches thick.





Size: 16 inches wide, 30 inches high, and about 8 inches thick.



Size: 15 inches wide, 45 inches high, and sides join at back, 12 inches.

There was formerly a ninth mile-stone of the Belcher group, — which was the end of that series, — but this has now disappeared. Mr. Teele, in his History (p. 112), thus alludes to it: "Another Belcher stone originally stood a few feet north of the avenue to Mrs. Payson's house." Her estate forms now a part of the old Belcher property, the entrance to which is on the south side of Adams Street. A "platway drawn by James Blake, indicating the position and line of these stones is in the possession of Edmund J. Baker" (Teele, p. 112), but this manuscript cannot be found.

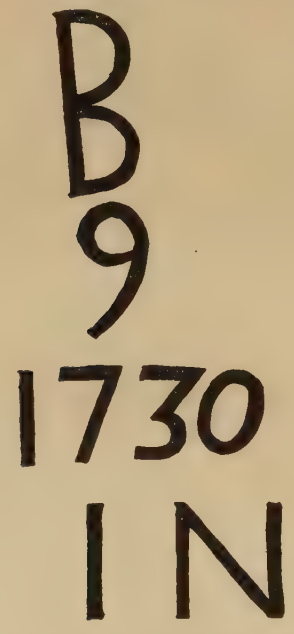
Now let us go back to the sixth stone in the line of the Paul-Dudley group, mentioned on page 99, but which does not belong to that group.

The seventh mile-stone (1722) stands in front of the house of Asaph Churchill at Milton, on the west side of the road, very near the stone wall. It is about 25 rods south of the eighth stone in the Belcher series, which stands on the other

side of the road near the Peabody place. It will be seen that the distances marked by the stones of the two series vary, as shown on page 102, which is due to the fact that they approach this point by different routes.

The eighth mile-stone (1723) is "near Mr. Breck's at East Milton" (Teele, p. 113), and is placed a little way east of the Episcopal Church.

The ninth stone stands in Quincy, on the south side of Adams Street, opposite the Newcomb estate.

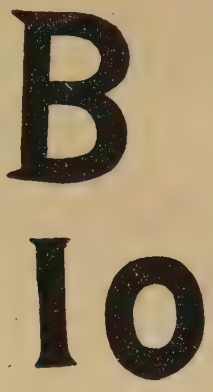


Size: 19 inches wide, 39 inches high, and 15 inches thick.

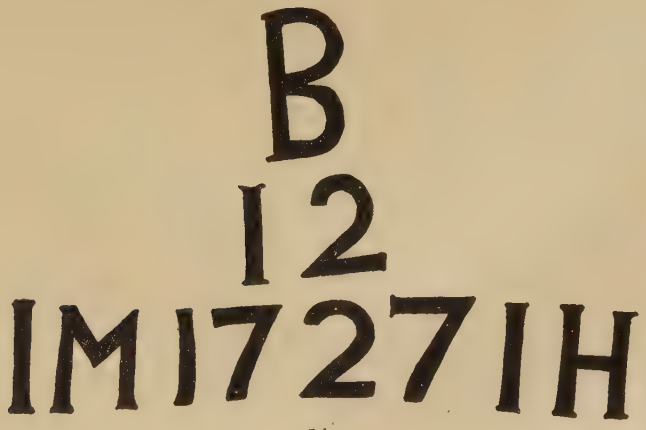
A cut of this stone forms the frontispiece to Mr. Charles Francis Adams's Centennial Address at Quincy, on July 4, 1892. In the reproduction, apparently the letters on the stone had been recently painted in order to bring them out more clearly, and the figure "3" in the year 1730 was thus changed to a "2." Mr. Adams says: "Not a day passes but some one looks with interest on the single ancient milestone of 1720 [1730?] which still within Quincy limits marks the old Plymouth road. Rude, rough and ill-proportioned, it has cut

upon it, besides the distance from Boston and the date, the initials J. N.,— standing, I am told, for 'Capt. Lieut.' Joseph Neal, as he is designated on his gravestone in the burying-ground opposite" (p. 8).

The tenth stone stood originally in its proper place by the roadside, but forty years ago, more or less, it was broken into pieces, and only a fragment saved, which was built into the wall in front of the house of the late Lemuel Brackett. The piece is seen near the central part of the city, and bears only the following:



The eleventh stone stood near the so-called Adams houses at the foot of Penn's Hill, but long ago it disappeared and no trace of it now remains.

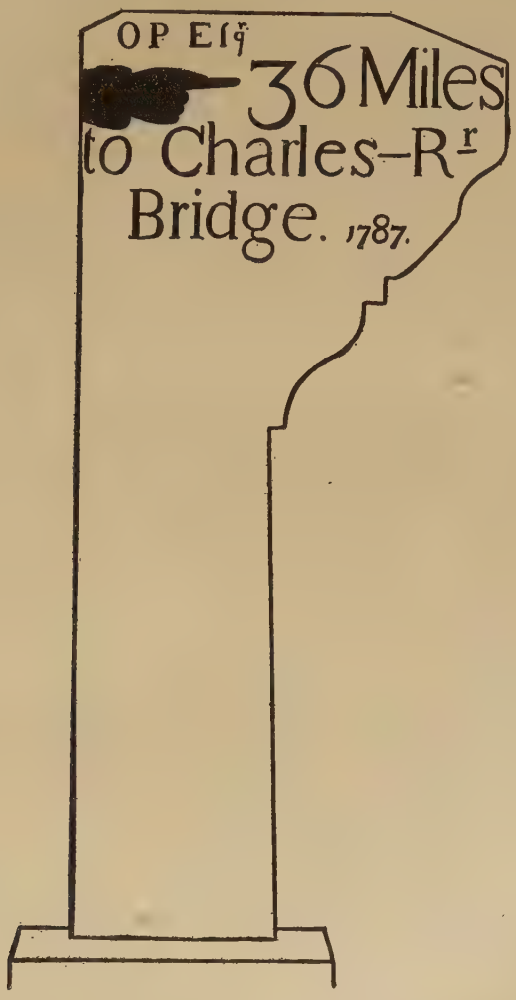


The twelfth stone stands on the rising ground beyond the southern slope of Penn's Hill, on the easterly side of the road, and comes within the town limits of Braintree. Through the efforts of the late Samuel A. Bates, town-clerk and accomplished antiquary, this stone was saved from ignoble uses, where it "might stop a hole" or cover a drain.

Mr. Adams, in the Appendix to his address, gives an interesting account of the mile-stones in Quincy, which fits so well into my paper that I reprint it, as follows:

The ninth, the first of the series in Quincy, is referred to in the text, and is reproduced in the frontispiece to this Address. At least one attempt has been made to remove and "utilize" this stone for some such purpose as repairing a wall or covering a drain; but the emphatic objection of members of the Newcomb family, whose house stood opposite to it, prevented, in this case, an act of stupid and ignorant desecration. The tenth stone — an historical landmark in Old Braintree and Quincy — stood in its proper place by the roadside in the centre of the town, until one day, some twenty years ago, a stone-mason, building one of those fortifications known as ornamental stone walls in front of the house of the late Lemuel Brackett, seized upon it, tore it up and cut it to pieces, and inserted a portion of it in the wretched wall he was constructing. The portion thus preserved bears the initial letter, "B," and the distance figures (10) from Boston; the rest of the stone is gone. The eleventh milestone stood close to the so-called Adams houses at the foot of Penn's Hill. Less fortunate than the tenth, this milestone wholly disappeared years ago, and no trace of it remains. It was probably taken possession of by the masons engaged in building the Samuel Curtis house in 1830 (Quincy *Patriot*, Oct. 26, 1889); and they, with no idea whatever of the act of desecration they were committing, not improbably used it in common with the stones of the old boundary wall, near the street end of which it is said to have stood, as foundation material. Indeed, the tradition is that all this stone was "utilized" for the underpinning of the barn built close behind the house, and still standing. If such is the case, it is within the bounds of possibility that the old eleventh milestone may yet be recovered, and restored to the place where it stood for more than a century. The twelfth milestone still stands on the rising ground beyond the southern slope of Penn's Hill, on the easterly side of the road. It bears, besides the indications of distance the date (1727), two sets of initials, I. M. and I. H. I have not ascertained of whom they are commemorative. Some years ago a highly utilitarian surveyor of highways seized on this stone as a handy cover for a drain or culvert he was engaged in constructing. Fortunately this act of vandalism came to the knowledge of

Samuel A. Bates, the veteran town clerk and antiquarian of Braintree, who bestirred himself in time, and was lucky enough to induce the selectmen to interfere and preserve the memorial (pp. 41, 42).



At the present time there are several mile-stones in Groton which were set up during the eighteenth century. Two of them certainly were placed by Dr. Oliver Prescott, younger brother of Colonel William Prescott, who commanded the

American forces at the Battle of Bunker Hill; and two others were set up, probably either by him or at his suggestion, during the same period. They all are of slate; and the largest stands by the roadside, at the southerly end of the village street, on the easterly side of the way, near the fork of the roads and close by the entrance to Mr. Lawrence Park's estate. The stone is between five and six feet in height, and is shaped somewhat like a capital letter P of colossal size, the upper part being considerably broader than the lower part, though the resemblance is not very close.

The Charles River Bridge, leading from Boston to Charlestown, was opened on June 17, 1786, and soon became a prominent point to people living in Middlesex County. Some vandal has tried to chip off "Esq^{r}" after the initials, but the letters can still be made out.

The Reverend William Bentley, D.D., of Salem, in his Diary, recently published by the Essex Institute, gives an account of a trip which he made to Dartmouth College in the summer of 1793. On his way there he passed through Groton, and mentions this stone together with other entries in his journal which now are of interest. He writes:

> We dined at Bollan's [in Chelmsford] & paid 1^{s} /, our engagement being to have no charges for the horsemen & his horses, & at ½ past 3 set out for Groton. . . . As we entered Westford we saw the best corn, & the best tobacco, & a few small hop yards. Corn being planted in all the farms & a patch of tobacco near many of the barns, & some towns through which we passed are remarkable for hops. . . . From the rough roads we passed over several miles of pines & sandy land, & soon were relieved with the elegant seat of G.[eneral Oliver] Prescot, & the Buildings of his Son about ½ mile below him. The seat is opposite to the Boston road which at this place enters into the cross road to Worcester. . . . Gen. Prescot house has near it a stone shewing that it is 36 miles to Boston & 30 miles to Worcester. Called at the General's & found an elegant House in good order, but he was not within (ii. 41, 42).

Another stone, about three feet high, stands in close proximity, just beyond the crotch, on the westerly side of the road. On this stone, also, an attempt has been made to chisel off the word "Esq." The inscription reads:

O. P. Esq.

30

Miles to

Worcester

1783

A third stone, about three feet in height, stands near the Groton School, on the easterly side of Farmers' Row, at the south corner of Peabody Street and was set up probably by Dr. Prescott. The top has been broken off, but the inscription remains, as follows:

29

Miles to

Worcester.

In front of the old tavern in the village, now known as the Groton Inn, is a fourth stone, belonging to the same period of time, standing out of the ground about a foot and a half, and perhaps set up by Dr. Prescott, which bears these words:

To

Boston

35

On the north side of the Great Road to Boston there is a slate slab, about four feet in height, which bears the following inscription:

To

Boston

34

The stone stands about a mile from the village, near Cady Pond. It is not known when or by whom it was put up; but probably the date goes back to the eighteenth century. The width near the top is about fourteen inches.

According to the guide-board at the north-west corner of the Common, the distance from Groton to Boston is thirty-four miles; and this is considered to be correct. In the years 1902 and 1903 the selectmen caused to be set up, on the several roads leading to the outer limits of the town, granite posts marking the distance of each mile from the Town-house. Twenty-eight such stones have been thus placed by the road-side for the benefit of the wayfarer; and they stand about two and a half feet out of the ground.

It may not be amiss here to note the fact that there was formerly some lettering on a boulder in an old wall that stood within a few feet of the mile-stone mentioned at the top of page 109. It bears the initials of Dr. Oliver Prescott as well as those of his grandfather who more than a century previously had cut his own initials on the same stone. It is possible that this inscription in the old wall first suggested to Dr. Prescott the idea of erecting mile-stones in close proximity to the boulder. The inscription on the boulder is as follows:

I P
1680
Rebuilt by
O P
1784
rebuilt by
S. J. Park
1841.

The initials I. P. are those of Jonas Prescott, — rudely cut, undoubtedly by himself, as he was a blacksmith, — and O. P. are those of his grandson Dr. Oliver Prescott. S. J. Park was Stuart James Park, the great-grandfather of Mr. Lawrence Park who now owns the adjacent land.

Jonas Prescott was an active man in the affairs of the town, and the ancestor of a long line of distinguished families. He was the grandfather of Colonel William Prescott, commander of the American Forces at the Battle of Bunker Hill, who was himself the father of William Prescott the lawyer and jurist, and the grandfather of William Hickling Prescott the historian.

In the year 1876 this piece of stone wall containing the boulder and separating a part of the Prescott house-lot from the highway was removed. Three years after it was taken away, I endeavored to find the stone, then to all intents and purposes lost; and it was a long while before I got any trace of it. The late Willard H. Giles, at that time the owner of the farm, knew nothing about it, and in fact had never seen it. I was told, however, that it might have been used in stoning up the cellar of a barn built in 1876, and here I directed my search. With Mr. Giles's permission I employed two men for two days to take out and replace various stones, until the missing one was found. Subsequently I gave the memorial to Mr. James Lawrence, a lineal descendant of Jonas Prescott, who has had it set in the wall on the north side of his front gate on Farmers' Row, where it is likely to remain for many years.

It may not be amiss to give here the derivation of the word "mile," which comes from the Latin *mille*. With the Romans a mile was a thousand steps, or paces (*mille passuum*); and thus the word has come down to us in our daily speech.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Edward Stanwood and William B. Weeden, a Corresponding Member.

A new serial of the Proceedings, for October, November, and December, and the special report of the Milton Tercentenary were on the table.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1909.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the January meeting, and of the list of donors to the Library during the last month, the PRESIDENT announced the appointment by the Council of the following Committees:

Committee to publish the Bradford papers,
Messrs. C. F. Adams, Arthur Lord, and Morton Dexter.

Committee to publish the Winthrop papers,
Messrs. C. F. Adams, Albert Matthews, and Frederic Winthrop.

Committee to publish the Mather papers, to act in an advisory and supervisory capacity with a similar Committee of the American Antiquarian Society,
Messrs. C. F. Adams, Nathaniel Paine, and Barrett Wendell.

Worthington Chauncey Ford, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and Lyon Gardiner Tyler, of Williamsburg, Virginia, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. NORCROSS, for the Committee to petition the General Court on the subject of renaming of streets and squares, reported upon the hearing granted by the Committee on Roads and Bridges, and the likelihood of favorable action on the bill presented.

Mr. Storey read a letter from Mr. RHODES, who was absent from the meeting, recognizing the artistic character of the new postage stamps, and calling attention to a communication made to the Society in January, 1906, by the late Charles H. Dalton, a Resident Member, of a letter to Senator Winthrop Murray Crane. In this letter Mr. Dalton suggested that the profile head of Houdon's statue of Washington should be used for all new stamps, distinguishing the denominations by different colors, and that the profile head of Franklin should be used for the one-cent stamp. Mr. Rhodes wrote that it was a source of gratification that within three years Postmaster-

General Meyer had adopted Mr. Dalton's recommendations; and he suggested that the Society should vote its thanks to the Postmaster-General. The matter was referred to the Council.

Rev. E. H. HALL read the following paper:

CIVIL WAR PENSIONS.

I have at my side, as I write, a letter from a Washington attorney informing me that there is money due me from the Treasury on account of my services in the Civil War, and offering to prosecute the claim in my behalf. This is not the only missive of the kind that I have received. Not a year passes but these unknown friends at Washington, with touching solicitude for my temporal welfare, promise to make all the investigations necessary to secure for me the payment of this debt. The country hardly appreciates, I am afraid, this altruistic body of quasi-public servants at the national capital who devote their entire time to the needs of our Union soldiers.

How is it that I am an object of such interest to these almoners of the nation's bounty? As a matter of record I acted as chaplain of the Forty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry during its term of service, receiving as pay and allowance a sum quite equal to the average salary of my fellow-clergymen who remained at home, retiring unwounded as it happened and with my general health quite unimpaired, to survive the war for more than forty years, with no serious sign of illness. Let me add that I was aware at the time, and have been increasingly conscious ever since, of having received from the country, not in pecuniary compensation alone, but in opportunities of service, and in the gratitude and distinctions that a great nation only can bestow, tenfold more than I was able to contribute to her welfare. Yet, if these documents are to be believed, the debt is on the other side. How does this happen? To answer the question it is necessary to review carefully the whole story of our Civil War pensions; and as this is one of the most important chapters of our national history, and, if I am not mistaken, a wholly unique chapter of modern warfare, I ask your attention to a statistical survey of this somewhat dry and not wholly agreeable theme.

The first general law relating to Civil War pensions was

enacted July 14, 1862. Following precedents already established for the soldiers of the Revolution and the War of 1812, this Act provides that "Any officer or private soldier enlisting since May 4, 1861, disabled by wound or disease contracted in the service, shall be placed upon the list of invalid pensioners . . . to continue there during the existence of such disability." The payments for total disability vary from eight dollars for the private to thirty dollars a month for all officers above Lieutenant-Colonel. In case of death the pension shall be paid to the widow during her widowhood, or to a child under sixteen, or failing these to a dependent mother, to terminate on her re-marriage.[1] This, with many restrictive clauses, was an eminently fitting and generous provision. All nations recognize the responsibility of caring for those who have suffered in their service, or become incapacitated for earning their livelihood or supporting those dependent upon them. And this is of course the more necessary where, as in our case, the army is recruited from the citizens themselves snatched suddenly from their daily toil and the industries of peace. All of us who were living during the war will recall how passionately every community devoted itself to its brothers and children in the field, and Congress simply echoed the universal sympathy in providing not for the present only but for the future as well.

Here, then, is the Civil War pension in its incipiency; a payment for wounds or disabilities contracted in the service, to continue indefinitely if the disability continues, to cease when the disability ceases. To this were added bounties offered by the nation or by the States, sometimes of lavish proportions, to secure enlistment; and with these ample offers the self-respecting recruit of those early days was content. Like all true soldiers, he was prepared for privations; he expected perils and disasters as part of the day's work; he asked only, if he thought of the future at all, that his family be cared for if he fell. So far as I can remember the question of pensions rarely or never came up for discussion. It may be added that these allowances, generous beyond all precedent at the start, were enlarged by Congress year by year, until every casualty and every possible affection of hearing, sight, or limb was brought under a special statute, increasing largely session

[1] Congressional Globe, July 5, 14, 1862.

after session. To give a single instance, the allowance for the loss of both hands or eyes, which in 1864 was $25, became, in 1872, $31.25; in 1874, $50; in 1878, $72; in 1889, $100.[1]

This normal condition of things continued for some years after the war. The growing appropriations for pensions from fifteen millions in 1866 to over thirty millions in 1874, showed that the country had not forgotten its citizen soldiers, while the soldiers on their part received its benefactions with gratitude and dignity. It would be manifestly unfair to expect this ideal attitude to hold its own forever. The ranks of an army are never entirely filled by the high-minded; and as the years passed the voices of the discontented or self-seeking, to whom the war itself had been largely a season of adventure, naturally made themselves most loudly heard. In any case, in the Encampments of the Grand Army of the Republic, which began the first year after the war, at Indianapolis, on November 20 and 21, 1866, the debates turned immediately, among other subjects, upon the pecuniary needs of the veterans. The easy generosity of Congress in listening to every appeal was in itself an incentive to further demands, and the pension-attorneys, whose services were sought for putting the claims in proper shape, were not slow in discovering the lucrative field which lay before them. Among the resolutions[2] passed by the first Encampment was this, "That Congress, in justice and not in charity, should pass a law equalizing, in just manner, the bounties of all Union soldiers and sailors." This demand met slight encouragement apparently, and for several years slumbered upon the records with occasional uneasy attempts at renewal. At the fifth Encampment, in 1871, the Commander in Chief of the order, General Logan, complains that the "Equalization-of-bounties Bill," three times passed by the House of Representatives, had been lost in the Senate, intimating at the same time that influence should be exerted in its behalf upon the Senate.[3] Under such circumstances it was plain that the earlier attitude of the soldier, leaving the country to judge of his deserts without himself urging his claims, could not long be maintained. The relation of

[1] Instructions and Forms for Army Pensions (1866), 11; Congressional Globe, July 5, 9, 11, 12, 14.

[2] Proceedings of the First to Tenth Meetings, National Encampment, G. A. R., 9; [3] 108.

comrade to comrade was naturally of the utmost friendliness, and one instinctively shrunk from opposing another who was cherishing a fancied grievance. And once granting that a pension is a thing for the soldier to demand, or is in the nature of an open claim for all needed aid rather than an allowance specifically attached to disabilities received in the field, the equalization of bounties sounded very logical and reasonable. The earlier bounties, it seems, offered when the whole North was eager to enlist, were much smaller than those offered later when recruiting became difficult and State was competing with State to fill out its draft. Why should not the nation remove these inequalities? Their continuance, it was seriously urged, "would tend to prevent voluntary enlistments in case of future war."[1]

As the final result of this agitation, a bill passed both Houses, March 2, 1875, called the "Equalization of Bounties Bill," securing to non-commissioned officer and private who had served at least one year and been honorably discharged, "eight and one-third" dollars monthly for the time of their service (representing the one hundred dollars a year that, as was claimed, all should have got). Both Republicans and Democrats, it was urged, had promised this in their platforms. It was represented as a just debt to the soldier, and as "relieving the government of its last obligation."[1] Twenty millions were asked for at once, with a possible final cost of over one hundred millions. During the debate Senator Sherman reminded the Senate that the country was already paying thirty millions a year, "a larger pension-list than ever was maintained by any nation in the world in any time."[2] The bill was passed with little serious debate March 3, 1875, by the casting vote of the Vice-President. As it happened, however, it fell into the hands of a President who with a soldier's instinct saw the peril of the situation, and refused to give it his approval: first, because the Treasury could not at that time bear so great a drain; second, to use General Grant's own words, because "I do not believe . . . the ex-soldiers . . . are applicants for it, but, rather, it would result more in a measure for the relief of claim agents and middlemen."[3] In

[1] Congressional Record, February 3, 1875, 1256–1265; February 17; [2] March 2, 2039.

[3] President Grant wrote a veto message upon this measure, which was dated

the following intricacies of pension legislation it is worth while to bear in mind that ten years after the war the old commander of the Union forces, with all possible opportunities to judge both the needs of the soldier and the ability of the government to meet such vast liabilities, maintained that the soldiers themselves asked no larger appropriations, and that any further increase was in the interest rather of the attorneys than of the veterans.

Notwithstanding this mandate from one so competent to speak, the movement thus begun was bound to advance by its own momentum. As usual, those whose interest it was to encourage large appropriations were more active than the guardians either of the Treasury or of the nation's best traditions, while both parties apparently had awakened to the value of the soldiers' vote; and various pretexts for new legislation soon made themselves heard. On April 2, 1878, a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives under the title of "A Bill for Arrears of Pensions," etc. Under the earlier statutes the payment of a pension, if claimed within a year, was dated back to the time of death or discharge. This term of grace was afterwards extended to three years, and later still to five years. This was supposed to be ample time for discovering any disability plainly originating in the service. The main purpose of the proposed bill was to repeal this five years' restriction, and make it possible for all, however long after the war their claim might be filed, to receive arrears from the beginning. The language of the act is as follows: "All pensions which have been granted . . . or may hereafter be granted, . . . in consequence of wounds, injuries, or disease received or contracted in said service during said war of the rebellion shall commence from the date of death or discharge from said service."[1] By a later enactment the time for filing such claims was limited to July 1, 1880.[2] One speech in the Senate was made in opposition to this bill; Senator Saulsbury, of Delaware, pointing out that the government had already been unprecedentedly generous, and that the pending bill would be in the form of a gratuity after all just claims had

March 5, 1875, and which could not therefore have reached Congress before its final adjournment. This was known as a "pocket veto," and is found in Richardson's Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vii. 320, 321.

[1] Congressional Record, April 2, 1878, 2217; June 19, 1878, 4874; January 16, 25, 1879. U. S. Pension Laws, 1902, 32; [2] 34.

been met. It passed the Senate, by forty-four votes to four, and was approved by the President, under the new administration, January 25, 1879. Within a year eight thousand pensioners were added to the rolls, with formidable accessions for several successive years, and the appropriations rose from thirty-three millions in 1879 to fifty-six millions in 1880. Even the Grand Army Encampment of July, 1883, was moved to declare, through one of its speakers, that "the nation's liberality to its disabled defenders has no parallel."[1] The whole amount added to the pension disbursements in consequence of the Arrears of Pensions bill, was estimated by the Grand Army itself as forty-five millions.[2]

This vast addition to the nation's expenditures made little difference in the schemes devised for further gratuities. A committee from the Grand Army visiting Washington in 1884 to ask pensions for all who had reached the age of sixty-five state that they found "nearly one hundred distinct bills . . . killing each other."[3] While it appears that the Grand Army at this time opposed many propositions for indiscriminate pensioning, it is clear that the discontented faction was still to be reckoned with; their sole question being under what form the next demand should be made. This was soon determined upon. Previous legislation, however generous its provisions, had been carefully limited to such disabilities as had been contracted during the war. This limitation, it was now felt, must be removed. January 10, 1887, a bill was introduced, known popularly as the "Dependence Bill," providing for all cases of "present disability," whether originating in the war or not. The bill passed the House of Representatives by a vote of one hundred and eighty to seventy-six, and the Senate almost unanimously, January 31, 1887. When it reached President Cleveland, however, it was subjected for the first time to careful scrutiny, and pronounced an avowed departure from principles hitherto recognized in pension legislation and as offering a premium on mendacity. At this same time, in vetoing a private bill, he said: "I have considered the pension-list of the Republic a roll of honor bearing names inscribed by national gratitude, and not by improvident and indiscriminate almsgiving"; and again, "I cannot believe that the vast army of Union

[1] Journal of the Seventeenth National Encampment, G. A. R., 56; [2] 55.
[3] Journal of the Eighteenth National Encampment, G. A. R., 105.

soldiers who . . . justly regard the pension roll as a roll of honor, desire to be confounded with those . . . willing to be the objects of charity." The bill was vetoed February 11, 1887.[1] A prolonged debate over the veto followed in both Houses. The supporters of the bill declared that the opposition to it came from Wall Street, and that the great dailies, which for the most part denounced the bill, were "the mouthpieces of wealth." They pronounced the bill "a simple act of justice . . . redeeming the nation's solemn pledges"; and referred to petitions from the Grand Army of the Republic which were "pouring in by hundreds."[2] Others sustained the veto vigorously on the ground that the measure was demanded not by the soldiers but only by the pension attorneys, who were provided for at the rate of five, ten, or twenty-five dollars per claim. It was openly asserted that these attorneys were forcing the bill upon Congress and the Grand Army, and employing their agents to lobby the act through both Houses. The opposition was so determined that the final vote upon passing the bill over the veto was 175 yeas to 125 nays, thus sustaining the veto, February 24, 1887.[3] The cognomen under which the act was popularly known was the "Pauper Pension Bill."

It will be seen that thus far, notwithstanding these wide departures from the original intent of pension legislation, Congress had clung on the whole to the assumption that the disability for which relief was asked had been directly or indirectly incurred in the service; but the matter was rapidly getting beyond the stage of cool discussion, to the point where it was thought unfair to refuse any claim that the veteran in his growing infirmities might make. In 1890 separate bills were introduced into the Senate and the House, differing only in the specific character of the benefactions which were to meet these demands once for all. Reduced to simplest terms, the Senate bill, asking no questions as to the origin of the disability, offered a pension to any soldier having served ninety days who found himself at any time or from any cause incapacitated for daily labor while dependent upon it for his support. The House bill, entitled "An Act providing a service pension," etc., provides the payment of eight dollars

[1] Congressional Record, February 11, 1887, 1638; July 5, 1888; [2] February 24, 1887, 2202 *et seq.*; [3] February 11, 24, 1887, 2226.

a month to any soldier, whether dependent or not, who has reached the age of sixty. If not yet sixty, he must also prove that he is at present suffering from mental or physical disability.[1] After long conference between the two Houses a compromise was reached, retaining the single condition of present incapacity to earn a support, but omitting the clause demanding a service pension for all. The payments were from six to twelve dollars for ninety days' service. In this form, under the name of the Morrill or Disability Pension Bill, it was passed in the House by one hundred and forty-five votes to fifty-six, in the Senate with slight opposition, and was signed by the President, June 27, 1890, a new administration having again intervened. The roll of pensioners rose within the year from five hundred and thirty-seven thousand to six hundred and seventy-six thousand; the annual appropriation from one hundred and six millions in 1890 to one hundred and fifty-six millions in 1893.

I make no comment upon this novel history, preferring to leave the facts and figures to speak for themselves with whatever eloquence they may. The most surprising part of the story, to my mind, is the absence through it all of any serious or statesmanlike discussion. Questions of the highest interest are involved here. The very constitutionality of our pension system, though often challenged, gets no consideration, and is still an open question.[2] The exact meaning of "pension" remains through all these debates undefined. Is it the recognition on the part of the government of meritorious service? Is the pension list, as President Cleveland assumed, a roll of honor? Is a pension in the nature of a recompense for loss of health or of property in the service of the country? Or is it a pure benefaction, to be received as charity? If so, what must be the moral effect of making a selected class of citizens the recipients of the nation's unstinted bounty? These questions arise now in every mind; to the congressional mind they seem hardly to have suggested themselves. After slight struggles from the party in opposition when these measures were first proposed, the debates became more and more perfunctory, until they reduced themselves virtually to the simple question, What do the soldiers want, and what does the Grand

[1] Congressional Record, June 11, 1890.

[2] D. C. Eaton, Pensions, New Haven, 1893, 46–57.

Army of the Republic demand?[1] Opponents of any proposal were set down as foes to the country, or reminded of the fate of certain unhappy representatives no longer present in Congress, who had presumed to vote in opposition to previous pension legislation. So far as appears, the nation entered light-heartedly and without a foreboding upon a policy which reverses the experiences of the entire past and substitutes unrestricted extravagance for the grateful recognition with which the world had hitherto met merit with its due reward. The answer to opposition, if vouchsafed at all, was invariably, "The country is rich and can afford it; why should we not do what we will with our own?" It was forgotten that ethical principles are involved in these open-handed ways; and national ethics, like personal ethics, are not determined offhand by the whims of an individual or a nation more prosperous than its neighbors. A nation can no more create its own code of ethics than it can determine its own climate or its winds and currents. The laws of ethics are the growth of centuries, to which every nation and people have unconsciously contributed, uttering themselves in an unwritten code which all members of this great family, if they so regard themselves, are bound to respect. The ethics of pensions, like all the rest, depend in the last analysis upon the consensus of nations, determining, with an authority which even a national Congress has to recognize, which is better, — a grateful recognition of service rendered, leaving to the soldier his manhood and his self-respect, or a wholesale prodigality offering its bounty to the sound and the infirm alike, the rich and the poor, the veteran hero scarred by twenty battles and the unblushing malingerer to whom fighting is unknown.

Generosity is one thing, prodigality is quite another. Prodigality dulls the edge of generosity, and turns gratitude into cynicism. We all have to learn this hard lesson. Over-generosity, whether to the boy of ten or to the man of sixty, draws the attention less to the gift than to the apparently exhaustless treasure-house from which it was drawn, till his little allowance becomes to him a beggarly pittance unworthy of recognition. The annals of the Civil War are painful reading just here to any one who recalls the uncalculating patriotism with which the early volunteers cast themselves into the

[1] Congressional Record, February 24, 1887, 2223; January 9–11, 1907.

service. During the first years after the war the soldier faced the future with quiet dignity, trusting simply to the country's justice. There was no rush for pensions. At first the claims came in more slowly than was expected, and the appropriations were not wholly called for. In 1872 only six per cent had filed their claims.[1] But as early as 1875 the habit of million-dollar appropriations began to produce its effects. When the bill for Equalization of Bounties was under consideration, a Representative remarked, "What matters it whether the national debt be $150,000,000 or $1,500,000,000, . . . they are honest debts?"[2] The lavish benefactions of Congress were regarded no longer as a favor or reward, but as a right. They began to speak of pensions as debts. The soldier, instead of receiving graciously what was given, dictated his own terms. "Let us . . . give Congress no peace," said the Commander of the Grand Encampment in 1887, "until we get what we think belongs to us"[3]; again in 1889, "We . . . who gave the best years of our lives to our country, will present our claims to Congress, and in doing so, will not approach those in authority 'with bated breath and whispering humbleness,' but as free men we will demand" our rights.[4] While the Disability Bill was before Congress, the Congressional Committee was told by a representative of the Grand Army, "If you do not pass this bill soon, you will have to pass a universal pension bill."

We have come to 1890. Glancing back for a moment, we find that in 1872 the Commissioner of Pensions, pointing with professional pride to the great accessions to the roll during the preceding year, says, "The apex of the mountain has at last been reached." The appropriations had mounted to thirty millions. In 1890 the appropriations are one hundred and six millions, with the number of pensioners mounting year by year. Has not the apex now at last been reached? With the Act of 1890 in force, offering a pension to any one who could show himself incapacitated, by any cause, to work for his support, was any room left for further advance? Whoever asks this question leaves out of account a familiar condition of the human brain which our medical friends dignify with the name

[1] Report Commissioner of Pensions, 1872, 6.
[2] Congressional Record, February 13, 1875, 1259.
[3] Journal of the Twenty-first National Encampment, G. A. R., 1887, 224.
[4] Journal of the Twenty-third National Encampment, G. A. R., 1889, 47, 48.

of an obsession. An obsession, as I understand it, is an idea which has fixed itself upon the mind, through much brooding, and governs imperiously all its thoughts. The obsession which controlled the veteran mind during the last decade of the nineteenth century was that at a certain age, vaguely apprehended as about sixty, the old soldier, solely by virtue of his age, is entitled thenceforth to government support. In such cases arguments are useless; after whatever protests the mind gravitates back to its fixed idea. In this case the progress of the obsession can be plainly traced. In the Encampment of 1884, at Minneapolis, the Commander declared in his address that those disabled at sixty-five, whether from service or not, "should be pensioned." Over a thousand Posts, it was announced, had favored a service pension (the name beginning to be applied to this imaginary benefaction) of eight dollars a month.[1] The next year, at Portland, June 24, 1885, the service pension was again introduced, but, after a long discussion, voted down. So again in 1887, at St. Louis, and in 1888, at Columbus.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century it became clear to all observers that further action in this direction was constantly pending, the only question being exactly when it should come. The political world accepted this idea with silent expectancy, as though it were an appointment of fate. Just as anxieties were at their highest, a remarkable intervention occurred. The President of the United States, refusing to await longer the slow action of Congress, issued an Order, March 15, 1904, covering the whole case by a stroke of the pen. He created no new law, nor changed any old one; he simply with unparalleled ingenuity reinterpreted an already existing law, making it do the whole work. Order No. 78 reads essentially as follows, "Whereas the act of 1890 provides that a claimant shall be entitled to a pension . . . proportioned to the degree of inability to earn a support, . . . and whereas old age is an infirmity the nature and extent of which the Pension Bureau has established with reasonable certainty, . . . now therefore, in the adjudication of claims under said act . . . it shall be taken as an evidential fact . . . that when the claimant has passed the age of 62 he is disabled one-half in ability to perform manual labor and is entitled to be rated at six dollars

[1] Journal of the Eighteenth National Encampment, G. A. R., 1884, 36.

a month; after 65, at eight dollars a month; after 68, at ten . . . and after 70, at twelve dollars a month." [1]

After this decisive act the final action of Congress seems in the nature of an anti-climax; nevertheless, on January 11, 1907, a bill, drawn up in concert with the Grand Army of the Republic, was passed, raising the rates determined by the President, and enacting that any one having served for ninety days, if sixty-two years of age, may be placed on the rolls to receive twelve dollars at sixty-two, fifteen at seventy, and twenty at seventy-five.[2] It is too early to tell the full effect of this legislation; but the appropriations rose within the year 1908 from one hundred and thirty-eight million to one hundred and fifty-three million.

The history of this long period would be incomplete without mentioning that, apart from this liberal pension legislation, the nation has established ten National Homes for aged or disabled soldiers, with free transportation thither, and a continuance of whatever pensions they were receiving. There are also thirty-two State Homes of a similar kind, supported in part by the national government, to many of which the soldiers' wives and children are also admitted.[3] It must be remembered that in addition to the five larger pension bills here enumerated, both Houses of Congress have been employed, down to the present day, in considering countless private bills in behalf of those, for the most part, who could not fairly meet the requirements of the general laws. The number of these bills passes all credence. As one turns the pages of the Congressional Record for the last forty years, this seems to be the one subject, among a thousand matters of highest national concern, which is always present, inserting itself into the crevices of every debate. On the day when the last-mentioned act was passed, the private pension bills acted upon by the House of Representatives covered fifty-four double-columned pages of the Congressional Record.[4] In a message of December, 1903, President Roosevelt says, "During the fiscal year ending July 1, 1903, the Bureau settled 251,982 claims, an average of 825 claims for each working

[1] Report of the Commissioner of Pensions, 1904, 22; 1900, 26.
[2] Congressional Record, January 9, 11, 1907, 925–933.
[3] Twenty-sixth Report of the Soldiers' Home, Chelsea, 1908, 64.
[4] Congressional Record, January 11, xli. 954–1008.

day of the year"; about one thousand a day.[1] That such applications, to be acted upon at times at the rate of several a minute, could not be closely scrutinized, is quite apparent. Indeed anything like careful examination was wont to be resented as an unjust reflection upon the country's defenders. One of the most curious features of the whole situation is the sensitiveness of Congress at the suggestion of fraud, and reluctance to take the most obvious measures to prevent it. General Grant, acting with conscientious fidelity, returned five private bills without his signature.[2] After him few presidents undertook so formidable and ungracious a task. President Cleveland alone took the matter seriously in hand and created undisguised dismay by vetoing one hundred and one such applications in a single year. The indignation which he aroused has hardly yet subsided, but one or two instances of his vetoes will prove, I think, that his scruples were not misplaced. On May 21, 1886, Mrs. A. C. Owen applied for a pension, alleging that her husband in 1862 received two shell wounds which indirectly caused his death. It appears, however, that he died in 1876, fourteen years later, from neuralgia of the heart, never having applied for a pension. At the time of the alleged wound the medical records show that he was absent on leave, suffering from chronic bronchitis and acute dysentery.[3] Three applications follow in cases where the claims had already been examined and rejected by the Pension Bureau, with ample reasons given. On May 25 the claim of John D. Ham is vetoed because "His name is not borne upon any of the rolls of the regiment he alleges he was on his way to join.[4] On May 28 Rebecca Eldridge asks a pension, her husband having received a slight wound in the leg in 1865. President Cleveland says, "On the 28th of January, 1881, . . . he fell backward from a ladder and fractured his skull, from which he died the same day. Without a particle of proof and with no fact established which connects the fatal accident in the remotest degree with the wound referred to, it is proposed to grant a pension to the widow of $12 a month. It is not a pleasant thing to interfere in such

[1] Addresses and Presidential Messages of Roosevelt, New York, 1904, 409.
[2] Veto Messages of the Presidents, B. P. Poore, 1886, 380–397.
[3] Richardson's Messages and Papers of the Presidents, viii. 423, 424;
[4] 421, 422.

a case; but we are dealing with pensions, and not with gratuities."[1] In another case the claimant, William Bishop, was shown to have been enrolled March 25, 1865, admitted to the hospital in April with measles and mustered out May 11. Fifteen years afterwards he claimed that the measles had "settled in his eyes, also affecting his spinal column."[2] It is not agreeable to lift the veil from these transactions, but the President, who made this part of his official task, evidently believed it his duty, first to protect the national treasury from its despoilers, and second to protect the ill-advised veteran from his own baser instincts.

A still more striking illustration of the liabilities to fraud involved in our loose and cumbrous pension system, and the indifference of the authorities in the matter, is revealed in the Commissioner's Report of 1901. From 1872, as he shows, one Commissioner after another had impressed upon Congress the lack of skilled medical service in the examination of claims. The certificates of examining surgeons, he declares, constitute the basis of the adjudication of claims; and the shiftless methods employed in the appointment of surgeons resulted not only in a vast waste of money, but in the constant allowance of fraudulent applications. Several practical suggestions were made for securing the needed supervision, repeated year after year for nearly thirty years, none of which had been heeded. It was pointed out that "the position of examining-surgeon in many localities is not sufficiently remunerative to induce surgeons of high professional character to accept the appointment." Moreover, "a surgeon dependent upon a community for his practice, and . . . subjected to . . . powerful rivalry, is dependent upon the opinion of his neighbors," and will "be influenced by the wounded and diseased survivors of the war. . . . Twenty-five years have passed; the same conditions have continued . . . and the best of commissioners have wearied in seeking relief. . . . Every fault pointed out then has been preserved and propagated." The proposition of a special court of competent surgeons or of "travelling medical examining boards" has remained unheeded, so far as appears, to the present day.[3]

This is not primarily a question of pecuniary outlay; yet

[1] Richardson's Messages and Papers of the Presidents, viii. 424, 425; [2] 443.
[3] Report of the Commissioner of Pensions, 1901, 62–70.

to any one who believes that economy has some place in national affairs, or who remembers how many measures of pressing importance are yearly turned aside through the poverty of the national treasury, it is a sobering thought that our last annual appropriation for a war which ended forty-three years ago was $153,093,086; an amount larger by fourteen millions than the entire cost of the English army, larger by ten millions than that of the French army, and only fourteen millions less than that of the German army. England, France, and Germany together, after all their wars, pay for military and naval pensions $63,379,374 less than the United States alone.[1]

The Pension Bureau gives as the entire disbursements for Civil War pensions, from 1866 to 1908, including the comparatively slight appropriations for the Spanish War and the War of 1812, $3,767,515,842.[2]

It is idle to speculate upon the future, with such facts as these before us. After more than forty years of peace, the country is asking itself wonderingly when this vast expenditure will end. It is one of the humors of the pension list that while the veterans are disappearing through natural causes by more than fifty thousand annually, the numbers on the roll stubbornly hold their own. The pension reports give many explanations of this phenomenon, but the most obvious cause is suggested by the fact that in 1901, when the last veteran of 1812 was lingering on the stage, there were still upon the rolls fifteen hundred and twenty-seven widows of that war.[3] So far as the annual outlay is concerned, it is to be remembered that the appropriations for 1908 exceeded those of 1907 by $14,937,674. With these figures in view, and with 38,692 new pensioners for the last year, and 7,099 claims now pending, the end of the roll, or any serious diminution of it, seems to retreat beyond the most distant horizon. Indeed, as I write these lines I find the following item in the daily papers: "Widows of deceased soldiers . . . in instances where the marriages occurred since June 27, 1890, may be pensioned under the provisions of a bill favorably reported to the Senate today

[1] Statesman's Year Book, 1907; Sessional Papers, 1906, lxvi, 8–9; Annuaire Statistique, 1906, 106, 118; Statistiches Jahrbuch, 1908, 274, 275.

[2] Report of the Commissioner of Pensions, 1908, 10.

[3] Report of the Commissioner of Pensions, 1901, 15.

from the committee on pensions. Under an existing law, widows of soldiers of the Civil War are not pensionable unless their marriages took place prior to the date mentioned. It is estimated by the pension bureau that there are about 15,000 or 20,000 women who would be benefited by the passage of this law."[1] The bill passed the Senate, February 1, 1909.[2]

Comparisons between country and country, I am aware, are never conclusive. But even though the government has no responsibility towards older lands as to its expenditures or the precedents it is establishing, has it none towards its own posterity? Unfortunately this is no longer an academic problem; the answer is already before us in unequivocal form. In 1872, seven years after the close of the Civil War, out of more than two million enlistments, one hundred and seventy-six thousand, or a little over six per cent, had applied for pensions. In 1901, three years after the Spanish War, a six months' campaign, in which the casualties were few and the privations inconsiderable, out of three hundred thousand enlistments, forty-five thousand, or fifteen per cent, had applied for pensions. The Pension Commissioner's Report becomes painful reading just here, and I should hesitate to quote from it but that the very moral of our theme lies in these details. On the return of the army from the Philippine Islands most of the troops were mustered out in San Francisco. In advance of their arrival the pension attorneys of Washington hurried to the spot to open offices, or have their agents ready to meet the returning soldiers. According to the language of the soldiers themselves, the rival agents beset them at once, importuning them to file their claims for pensions without delay. To the bewildered youths, eager only to reach their homes, "seventy-five attorneys seemed to be pursuing" each victim, assuring him that it was his duty to file his application, whether an invalid or not. The hospitals had to be guarded against these tormentors masquerading as friends of the invalids. Within forty-eight hours their assiduous labors began to tell. Stephen A. Cuddy, Chief of the Law Division of the Pen-

[1] Boston Herald, January 27, 1909.

[2] A bill has lately been introduced in the House of Representatives which "makes provision for placing on the 'roll of Honor' all living honorably discharged officers who served at least six months during the Civil War, with maximum pay for service of two years . . . pay to equal one-half pay of highest mustered grade."

sion Bureau, gives this case, among several others, in detail. "The regulations of the War Department," he says, "require a preliminary examination of a soldier to determine his physical condition prior to being mustered out of service." In the present instance "the declaration was executed by the soldier at San Francisco, Cal., on his way home from the Philippines." In this the soldier declared that he was suffering from no wound, injury or disease, and had no "disability or impairment of health, whether incurred in the military service or otherwise." This certificate is signed by the company commander, the first lieutenant, major, and surgeon of the regiment, and dated March 5, 1901. "The soldier was mustered out of the service on March 16. On the same day he executed a declaration for pension, . . . and in it the identical soldier referred to above swears that he is physically disabled from obtaining his subsistence by manual labor, by reason of the following injuries, received in the service of the United States," namely, disease of the stomach, bowel troubles, kidney and bladder troubles, malarial poisoning, lumbago, pain in back, irritable heart. Another case is reported by the Commissioner of a volunteer regiment which was recognized as one of the "crack" regiments in service in the war with Spain. Its membership was notably a fine body of men, and its officers were men of experience and ability. This regiment had a membership of nine hundred officers and men, and reported "no battle casualties." Up to June 3, 1901, four hundred and seventy-seven applications for pension were filed, for over twenty different diseases.[1] The agents who filled out these applications evidently labored under the impression that many fatal diseases were more imposing than one.

A Pension Commissioner seldom pauses among his figures to moralize; but Commissioner Henry Clay Evans, on narrating the above incidents, condoles frankly with these youths, all in their twenties presumably, for deliberately handicapping themselves in the race of life, as "disabled veterans" on a government pension of twelve dollars a month. He asks, and we may well ask, how is this to be explained? Here are American citizens, of the same breed in large part as the recruits of 1861, flocking into mercenary paths which their

[1] Report of the Commissioner of Pensions, 1901, 47, 107, 108.

fathers refused to tread. Until some other reason is suggested we must ask ourselves if it may not be because the one generation had been reared in self-respecting traditions, while the other had been taught by conspicuous examples that the soldier, whether disabled or not, may throw himself without reproach upon the government for support, while the government in its paternal solicitude makes the application very easy for him.

Lest we should be led to throw the blame here where it does not fairly belong, we should bear in mind the perplexing circumstances amid which these inexperienced young soldiers suddenly found themselves. We are all of us governed to a great extent by the world's established customs. For the college undergraduate, as we know, three years are enough to create an immemorial tradition with all the sanctity of holy writ. Woe to him if he presumes to offend the least of his college dogmas. So when the Philippine warrior, landing on an unknown shore and entering on the last act of the military drama, is assured that the veterans of the earlier wars, the heroes of his imagination, have almost without exception accepted pensions; what is he in his callow youth to set himself against this precedent of the ages? It is hardly strange that he yielded. It was not he that yielded so much as the insidious system that ensnared him. Some of them testified afterwards that they had been over-persuaded.[1]

Let us return for a moment to the service pensions of 1907. The idea seems to prevail that this action of Congress, offering pensions to all veterans who have reached a certain age, is in accordance with well-established precedents. There is no precedent for it, either in this country, or so far as I know in any other. In France, Germany, and England a pension "for service" is granted; but the term means service for at least ten, oftener twenty or thirty years, the pension being given strictly for desert. To seek any analogy between this and our use of the word, where service means simply having been in the ranks, if for only ninety days, is time absurdly wasted. But we are reminded that the soldier of the Revolution received such a pension, and that this is precedent enough for us. Let us look then at the Revolutionary pension. By an act of June

[1] Report of the Commissioner of Pensions, 1901, 48.

7, 1832, forty-nine years after the end of the war, pensions were awarded to all survivors who had served at least six months. The debate upon this bill, which was very protracted, opened up a singular history of the payment of the revolutionary soldier. As is too well known to every student, the country found itself in great straits during the Revolution to pay its army at all. Few officers or privates received even the wages promised them. On October 21, 1780, after many broken promises, the Continental Congress, at Washington's suggestion, voted to give officers who should serve throughout the war, in lieu of immediate settlement, half-pay for life from the establishment of peace.

As even this was not forthcoming, the officers were persuaded in 1783 to receive instead of half-pay a commutation of five years' pay, for which certificates were given; which certificates in turn depreciated eight to one and soon passed out of the officers' hands, and the pledges were virtually unredeemed. The privates had fared quite as badly by the depreciation of the currency. In 1828 another attempt was made to settle the long-postponed claim on the simple condition of indigence on the claimants' part. Finally, as we have seen, in 1832, all conditions except of age were removed, and pensions were offered to all who had served at least six months.[1] But the whole case was treated as a belated payment of the nation's dues to its defenders. Daniel Webster declared that "the claims of officers under the resolution of 1780 and 1783 is a claim not yet satisfied, and which would recommend itself . . . to the conscience of any Chancellor of the civilized world."[2] Senator John Davis of Massachusetts said, "This is no gratuity; the soldiers of the Revolution were not paid. No one says they were. To call these claims a pension is a misnomer."[3] Rufus Choate asserted that "these claims were rather compensation than alms."[4] It will be seen, I think, how little resemblance there is between the service pension of 1832, when Congress was virtually paying a debt withheld for fifty years[4] and the service pension of 1907, when all pecuniary obligations had been discharged at the time of peace, and the intervening forty years had been

[1] L. C. Hatch, Administration of American Revolutionary Army (Harvard Historical Studies) 85, 177, 178, 195.

[2] Congressional Debates, January 16, 1827; [3] May 1, 1832; [4] April 9, 1832.

devoted to numberless and lavish benefactions. In a word, the present service pension is something wholly new under the sun, and whatever credit attaches to it must be granted unreservedly to those who invented it.

The pension laws for soldiers of 1812 or of the Mexican War cannot be seriously brought into account, if for no other reason because they were enacted severally in 1871 and 1887, after the old precedents had been already disclaimed and the new departure had been long in vogue. They are part and parcel of the Civil War system.

One would be glad to know, out of curiosity, how the idea arose that sixty-two was the destined age for the service pension to begin! The only explanation that appears in the proceedings of Congress is that given by Senator McCumber, of North Dakota,[1] who finds "a kind of precedent for sixty-two years in the pension laws for the survivors of the Mexican War, which fixed this age." Precedents establish themselves, it will be noted, with alarming speed. Oddly enough, the Spanish War itself had become a precedent in the debates upon the law of 1907; when it was said in support of the measure, "Our present pensions are a bagatelle compared with those in the Philippine and Spanish Wars." Beside this imposing example it is difficult to find any authority for this edict. Possibly some of my hearers more conversant than I with the works of medical science can bring up some official warrant, but for myself I can find none. Even the Psalmist, with antique traditions in his mind, allows us threescore years and ten to reach senility. It was reserved for the American Congress in its wisdom to fix sixty-two as the age of "total incapacity."

If any demur at this plain statement of facts, it should be noted that they are not offered in the spirit of controversy, as both political parties have been almost equally instrumental in bringing about these results. It will also be remembered, I trust, that the main fault falls not upon the soldiers as a class, but rather upon the inextricable net which others have woven about them. When we turn back from the last pension appropriation of $153,093,086, to the year 1872, with its appropriation of $30,206,778, when the Commissioner of Pensions felt sure that the apex of expenditure had been reached, or to 1875, when General Grant, leader of our armies, felt that the

[1] Congressional Record, January 9, 1907.

THE PRESIDENT'S INKSTAND.

alike;[1] and I conclude that the blame

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The

plate, that ornaments the President's seat at our Council table was given to the Society more than fifty years ago by President Robert C. Winthrop. It is a reduced copy of a

which I saw last winter in the National Museum at Naples in one of the large rooms of the Picture Gallery. The original group with the pedestal stands about two

and

and represents the infant Hercules strangling the two serpents that Juno had sent to destroy him and his brother Iphicles, as Pindar tells the story in the

Nemean Ode. On the pedestal are delineated

Labors.

The work was published in 1826 in the "

" (I. Pl. 8); and the plate containing it was

about the same time in

V. Pl. 783, No. 1955, A). In 1897

included it in the first volume of his "

Grecque et Romaine" (p. 462).

[1] See

p. 123.

THE PRESIDENT'S INKSTAND.

claims of the soldier had already been generously met and that further benefactions were bound to enrich the agents of the bounty rather than the soldier himself, we cannot avoid the conclusion that something is wrong. I am passing no judgment upon the large numbers who have accepted these awards: I have rather in mind the political adventurers who saw their chance in appealing to the soldiers' vote; I have in mind the pension attorneys, whose perquisites have steadily advanced from five dollars at the outset to ten, twenty, twenty-five dollars a claim, till now, as I learn from the papers before me, they demand twenty-five per cent of the entire amount for their few hours of service; I have in mind also the loop-holes for fraud left so flagrantly open to applicant and agent alike;[1] and I conclude that the blame must be visited chiefly upon the evil system itself. Our first word and our last must be, the scandals of the system; a system of paternalism never dreamed of by the civilized world before, a system which offers every possible inducement to mendicancy and conceals every possible inducement to fraud.

Henry W. Haynes then made the following communication:

The handsome inkstand, represented in the accompanying plate, that ornaments the President's seat at our Council table was given to the Society more than fifty years ago by President Robert C. Winthrop. It is a reduced copy of a fine bronze which I saw last winter in the National Museum at Naples in one of the large rooms of the Picture Gallery. The original group with the pedestal stands about two feet and a half high, and represents the infant Hercules strangling the two serpents that Juno had sent to destroy him and his brother Iphicles, as Pindar tells the story in the first of his Nemean Odes. On the pedestal are delineated his Twelve Labors.

The work was published in 1826 in the "Museo Borbonico" (I. Pl. 8); and the plate containing it was reproduced about the same time in Clarac's "Musée de Sculpture" (V. Pl. 783, No. 1955, A). In 1897 Salomon Reinach included it in the first volume of his "Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine" (p. 462).

[1] See pages 125, 126, 128, 129.

In the earliest publication Giovambattista Finati, one of the editors of the "Museo Borbonico," stated that it came from the Farnese Collection, made by the family of Pope Paul III. The style of the group evidently differs widely from that of the bas-reliefs of the pedestal; but that the group is antique has never been doubted by any of those who have published it. The bas-reliefs, though very beautiful, seem to belong to the best period of the Renaissance. Finati believes that a former owner of the antique group had a beautiful pedestal designed for it to be worthy of its merits. To me this supposition seems quite credible.

The *motif* of the group of the infant Hercules strangling the serpents was very frequently repeated in ancient art. As many as eleven examples in bronze or marble, beside the present, are known. Of these four are in Rome, in the Vatican, Capitol, and Torlonia collections; two are in Florence; one is in Turin; one in Berlin; and one is in the Pembroke Collection, at Milton House, near Salisbury, England.

Moreover it is often found upon the coins of ancient cities; of Thebes, in Bœotia (*circa* 447 B. C.), after the battle of Coroneia; of the alliance coinage of the Asiatic coast towns (394 B. C.), after the battle of Cnidus; and upon the coins of Cortona, in South Italy, commemorating the league of the Greek cities there against Dionysius the elder in 390 B. C.

The idea of the group is believed to be symbolical of the victory of light over darkness, of good over evil, and of free and united Hellas over barbarism and tyranny (Head, "Historia Numorum," 82). Mr. Head thinks that the wide popularity of this treatment of a familiar subject at about the same period may perhaps be ascribed to the famous painting of Zeuxis, mentioned by Pliny ("Natural History," XXXV. 63), representing "a superb Jupiter enthroned amid the assembled gods, with the infant Hercules strangling the serpents in presence of his mother Alcmene and of Amphitruon." This was probably painted for the people of Agrigentum, in Sicily (*circa* 490 B. C.), when the painter was residing in South Italy (Murray, "Handbook of Greek Archæology," 376).

Theocritus (*circa* 280 B. C.) tells the story in one of the most pleasing of his Idylls (XXIV.); and the younger Philostratus, as late as the middle of the third century after Christ, included it among his imaginary subjects for a painter

LINCOLN INAUGURAL TABLE, 1865.

Saturday, March 4, 1865, one o'clock, P. M.

monies of this day. It was in front of President Lincoln when he delivered his inaugural address, and a tumbler of water intended for his use stood upon it. He took the oath of office standing at its side.

B. B. FRENCH, *Commissioner of Public Buildings.*

Mr. French told Mr. Lincoln that he should give the table to the Historical Society, and would like to have the President write a memento of the Capitol; but, alas, the events of that period prevented. Mr. French's letter to Mr. Winthrop is printed in full in the Proceedings (IX. 353-5 of October, 1866, in which the writer says, — "If you can find a photograph of Mr. Lincoln's second inauguration, you will see that table very prominent in the foreground of the picture."

Dr. GREEN [illegible] the following diary:

At the June meeting of the Historical Society in 1897, I presented a copy of Lieutenant Dudley Bradstreet's diary, kept at the siege of Louisburg in 1745. At the time of that meeting the diary belonged to Miss Sarah Coburn

INAUGURAL TABLE, 1865.

("Icones," V.). It is found represented in full upon a vase in the British Museum.

Dr. GREEN called the attention of the members to a table which he exhibited, that has a particular interest at this centennial period. It is the one which stood in front of Lincoln when he delivered his second inaugural message in Washington on March 4, 1865; and was given to the Society by Benjamin B. French on October 11, 1866. The table is made entirely of iron, consisting of three pieces of the dome of the Capitol: the feet, or stand, being one of the ornaments of the inner dome, inverted; the pillar one of the balusters of the iron railing around the opening beneath the eye of the dome; and the top a square piece cut from one of the thin iron panels. It was made expressly for the inauguration exercises; and after it had served its purpose it was taken home by Mr. French, who had caused it to be made. On the same day he wrote the following words on a piece of paper and stuck it underneath the top:

Saturday, March 4, 1865, one o'clock, P. M.

This table, formed of three pieces of iron cast for the new dome of the Capitol, stood upon the platform erected for the inaugural ceremonies of this day. It was in front of President Lincoln when he delivered his inaugural address, and a tumbler of water intended for his use stood upon it. He took the oath of office standing at its side.

B. B. FRENCH, *Commissioner of Public Buildings.*

Mr. French told Mr. Lincoln that he should give the table to him to take to Illinois when he should retire from the Presidency, as a memento of the Capitol; but, alas, the events of that period prevented. Mr. French's letter to Mr. Winthrop is printed in full in the Proceedings (IX. 353–5) for October, 1866, in which the writer says, — "If you can find a photograph of Mr. Lincoln's second inauguration, you will see that table very prominent in the foreground of the picture."

Dr. GREEN communicated the following diary:

At the June meeting of the Historical Society in 1897, I presented a copy of Lieutenant Dudley Bradstreet's diary, kept at the siege of Louisburg in 1745. At the time of that meeting the diary belonged to Miss Sarah Coburn

Kemp, a descendant, who afterward gave the original manuscript to the Society (Proceedings, second series, XIX. 83). Unfortunately, it was imperfect, and at the beginning lacked entries covering a period of six or seven weeks. I now have to report the gift of another diary kept during that campaign by a member of Lieutenant Bradstreet's company, which to an interesting degree supplements the other diary. It was found two years ago in the garret of a house in Bolton, which was originally a part of Lancaster, and is presented to the Library by John Calvin Lawrence Clark, town clerk of Lancaster. It is Mr. Clark's opinion that it was kept by Benjamin Stearns, a member of the company from Lancaster; and he bases his judgment on the resemblance of the handwriting to other examples of his penmanship now in existence. From the first entry in the diary I am inclined to think that it was written by one of the fourteen men who marched from Groton, on March 11, 1744–1745; but I defer to Mr. Clark's judgment. Of these men John and Daniel Pierce were brothers, sons of Daniel and Eleanor (Boynton) Pierce.

Whoever the writer of the diary may have been, evidently he belonged to the same organization as Lieutenant Bradstreet, who was an officer in Captain John Warner's Company, Fourth Massachusetts Regiment (Colonel Samuel Willard). Captain Warner was a resident of Lancaster, and presumably his company was made up of soldiers belonging there and in Groton and neighborhood, though no muster roll is now extant. It is known that there were several other Groton men in the company beside those mentioned as marching on March 11, as their names are found in Bradstreet's copy.

The entries in Bradstreet's diary begin on April 22, 1745, and end on January 17, 1746, while the entries in the present diary begin on March 11, 1745, and end on August 2 of the following summer. It is interesting to note that the record of each journal confirms that of the other to a great extent; and a few of the entries made in the present one, particularly during the latter part of June, appear to be almost identical with those in the other.

It is well known that Colonel Willard's regiment was recruited at very short notice, certainly in less than a month; and probably there were not more than fifty or sixty volunteers in Captain Warner's company. Of this number probably one half was from Lancaster and neighborhood, and the other half from Groton and neighborhood; and in the absence of any formal record this estimate may be taken as a fair one. Presumably a similar squad of men marched from Lancaster, perhaps on the same day as the other squad left Groton, and they came together after reaching Boston, though the diary does not mention the fact. It will be seen that there is a marked difference between the literary attainments of the two diarists, which is not surprising, as Lieutenant Bradstreet was the son of a Harvard graduate and a lineal descendant of Governor Simon Bradstreet. From time to time the diary gives a date or an item which fits into other accounts of the siege so well that occasionally, like a piece in a child's puzzle, it rounds out the whole story. I have printed it without change, and no attempt has been made to correct either the style or the spelling. The writer evidently was not familiar with the New England coast, and in his entries he has greatly confused the names of various capes and other places.

Memarandom march 11 : 1744/5 : then we Depart[ed] from groaton Namlly Dudly Bradstret and Benj[a] Willson Benj[a] Lakin Jonathan Lakin Jacob Nutting Daniell Blood John Chamblin Stephon Barron finnes Barron Isaac Kent Aaron Boynton gidin Sanderson John Parce & Daniel Parce from groton to Concord: 11: march and from Concord To Charlston: 12: & att Charlston we staid: 5: & on the 18: we went on Board and their we staid 3: days & then wee sailled from Boston to a place called king roade[1] & thar we staied: 4: days and from thence we sailled By Cape Can [Ann] & from thence we sailled to a place called Sheep Cutt harbor river [Sheepscott Bay], march: 27: & there wee staid till y[e] 29: of the . . . s[d] month and then we sailled [to] a place called Conopshot [Penobscot] and [P]eneyquid & then to the Bay fundy and their we was Two Days the weather was Exeedeing Bad for us their arose a greate storm and the seas run mountains high and it did rain very heard and the wind Did Blow very heard so that Wee

[1] Now President Roads in Boston Harbor.

was fain to let Down our sailes and lett Drive wheir the seas would carrey us and a terriable storm we had so Bad that I thought that Every minet would Be the Last and in the mean while our men was Exceedeing six and Did vomit & as if they would dy and in this Troublsom time and in the mount of Difilkety I hope Every man called upon his god for his Deliver and after sum time the reain and wind did abate and the seays left hurrcagining in sum measuer and By the goodness of god who is wiling to save and succer all them that put their trust in him he Blessed us with a fair wind and Brought [us] By cape sables (But their is one thing that I did forgit in my writing in the storm a afors^{d} our men was Exedeing sick and did vomet very much as if they would Dy the seas runing mountaining and I hope god Every man thought upon his god as for my part I did not now But Every minet would be the Last when we should Be swallowed up in the deeps [)] on the first of aprail we hoisted sail and sailed [out] of the Bay funday and By Cape Sambers [Sambro] and then by Port Looter [Latour] & thence by a place called Bevears [Beaver Harbor] and from thence to a place called Cape Negeors [Negro] Harber and from thence to a place called the Cuntry harber. th : 4 : and their we went on shoer and on : th : 5 : & : 6 : days we Lay : at : an : ankir : th : 7 : Day of the month on : sunday : we sailed about : 3 : Leages out of s^{d} place towards Canso and the wind Being contray we droped anker again and went on shoor and their we found : 2 : graves and a bord set up at the head of one of their graves wheir 2 mens names was writton : viz : John pinkham and thomas hinkins Buried in the year: 1737: on monday the : 8: we hoisted sail again and the saim Day we pased by a place called white head [White Point?] and from thence we sailed to a place caled Canso and on the 8 of aprail By the goodnes of god we all arived at our Desiered haven and Droped ankor on th : 9 : afs^{d} month it reained so that we could not git on shoor on the : 10 : Day we went : on shoor and our squardren was joyned whereoff Colo^{n} Ritchman [Richmond] was our commander on : th : 17 : of : s^{d} month their was an inglish Brig Brought in that was taken from Captain Loveing in the year 1744 Laden with : 5 : hundred hogsits of rum and sum melasoes whereon was a cownsil of war hild on the : 18 : Day to see if our men could not keep sum of the rum and other for the suport of the fleet and on the saim day their was brought in a prize She was taken one Day from the Inglish and the next Day retaken By Cap^{t} Bekit [Beckwith] and Cap^{t} Deunhue [Donahew] on the next day their was : 2 : prizes brought in taken By viz Dunehu and Bekit a french Brig an a Cape Can sconer was Brought in the former of them was Laden with Pro-

vison and other for the suport of the french : and the saim day just att night our men thought they Espied a french man of war and they all maned them selves and hoisted sail and after them they went to see if they could take her and in the Evening we heard severall guns and on : th : 19 : Day sum of our men found a pakit of Letters on shoor which we did conculed that the french flung over Board when our men fought with her the Pakit was rapped up in a peace of parchment and : on the saim day their was Brought in another prize on monday : th : 29 : Day of aprail we sailed towards Cap briton & on Tuesday : the : 30 : af : s^{d} : month we went on shoor and when we was a Landang their came betwen 2 or 3 hundred of french and Indins to Debar us from Landeng but by the goodness of god wee all Landed saif and well and had a scurrmigg with them and sum of them we took Wee took and killed : 17 : on the saim Day that we went on shoor : and traviled about : 3 : miles towards the sitey and then we pitched our campe not far from the sitey : on : may the : 1 : our men took : 8 : and : on : may : th : 2 : they took : 6 : moor and after that took the grand Batry and severall cows and horsies and sum plunder viz sum pots sum kitles sum gridirons som one thing and sum another and Burnt several houses : may : the : 3 : our men took : 10 : moor of the french and shoot several greate guns from the grand batery through the goviner house and did Begin to play upon them finley 4 then we fixed our artilery and did Begin to fling our Bumes into the Sittey and made netorious work with them and their Buldings: 5 : our men took one french man and one negor man may : 6 : on the Sabarth Day[1] our men took : 9 : french men and : 2 : wimon and the same day our guner was wonded and four of our men by : over-loding their guns : 10 : then our men took : 4 : french moor : 11 : Tuesday our men took : 5 : french moor : 12 : 4 : of our me[n] wounded and the saim day one off them Died 23 : day of may Sergant Corly Died in the year 1745 and on the : 19 : Day of the saim month Cap^{t} parss[2] was killed and a famos and a worthy gentle mane he was counted Bothe for corige and conduck and a man that sought y^{e} good of his shoulders as well as the good of his king and cuntry on the : 20 : same month our men took 20 moor french wimon and children and still our men keep fierang again the wals of the sity and their houses & most confused work they made with them : by beteing Down their walls and their gats and their forts By Bumeing them we toor their houses : and killed severall of them as we have heard sence we took this sitty their is one thing

[1] The writer sometimes makes a slip in regard to the day of the week: the sixth of May, 1745, fell on Monday, and the eleventh of May on Saturday.

[2] Joshua Pierce, senior captain of the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment.

worthy of our remark one of our cannon balls kiled six french att one shoot : we sot sum of their houses on fier in the town : by shooteing Bumes but by their craftness they put them out again and By the way in this : dificketty times we lost sum men and sum wounded : admirall Warrin took a ship judged to be worth near a milion of money : my : 23 : our men took : 10 : french men and on the : 26 : about : 200 : hundred and : 80 : of our men went to take the Island Battrey and as near as we can tell we Lost forty : odd in the fight when they was a Landeing, Sum their head was cut off and sum their arms and other casuealty that they met with So that they was Destroyed and cut off after this our men shoot red hot Bullets into their houses and a Mongst them in the streets and when they saw them rool along the streets they went to take them up Burnt their hands they Not noying they was hot so by shooteing the read hoot Ball it sot many of their houses on fier but they By their craftness Put them out a gain may : th : 29 : Being the Election Day.[1]

June the : 2 : our men took : 7 : french men and : 3 : wimon and in a fight that our men had with the french & Indins our men killed and wounded 40 of them as we heard and was informed credablly By them that was their

June : th : 3 : then Cap[t] warren took a ritch prize that was Laden with Provison for the french Jun : th : 4 : then our men took : 17 : french and killed : 2 : of them June : th : 5 : then one french man came out from the sitey and : pretending to Be a frind But we found that he was a trator and we secured him fast June : th : 6 : then our sea forces took 2 french ships Laden with rice and other provison for the surport of the french and the same day their came out one french man to our men and resined him self up to them he Being a youngstir June th : 8 : then we was infourmed that sum of our men took considrably many of the french wimon and children Sum sade the number was : 70 : and others said Not soo many and as to the seartain number I never could tell

June : 10 : then our men took two Ships of considrably value then in a few Days after : 3 : of our men went on Board the man of war to help and assist them on the sea Because they put : 60 men on Board a sixty gun ship which they had taken from the french : 25 : was in that compney which our men was in on fryday they went on Board and they tarred till the Tuesday folowing and at night they came home all well June : th : 16 : 1745 then the sitty was Delivered into our hands and we took Posesion of all their strong holds and all the glory of Leouisburg the Island Battery

[1] Alluding to Election day at home in Massachusetts, which fell on the last Wednesday of May.

and all their strong holds with all their artillirys of war and an Exedein strong place it is as Ever I did hear off or see in all the corse of my life the walls are in sum places are towards : 30 : foot high and at sum places toward 60 : odds foot through the hole siteyacion of the sitey is Exedeing strong Both by Sea and land and their are : 100 : and : 40 : odd ambercars [embrasures] round the wals : 6 : Brass guns are plased along with the rest and : 6 : morter peaces along side of the walls and in the town : 37 : swivle guns are plased upon the walls and other invenchions to Destroy us when we was ingaged against them and the grand Battrey is an Exedeing strong place also their are ambercars for : 35 : greate guns the walls are very high also Espeshaly by the sea side the Barraks are of an Exedeing great Length and strong with all the watch Boxesis are strong as the former maid with stone and lime sum part of them are Bum proof So that it will stand any Bums or Bullets and all round the watch Boxes in the gard house in Every hole their is a place fixed for swivle guns

21 : Removed our sick to houses towards the sitey and : 2 : men to look after them

: 23 : Sunday cloudy and foggy : 18 french men made their Escape yesterday Brought in their snap sacks and armes and provison & wear commeted to prison : mr moody[1] preacht in the four nook at the camp from provibers : th : 8 : 6 : mr Longdal[2] preacht in the after Noon from hebrews : th : 3 : 13 : the artillery mov^{d} from the fascins Battery 24 mon^{d}y raney cloudy and foggy Cap^{t} rous came in but did not now that the place was taken till he sent his boat on shoor att the camps

25 : tuesday Capt Rous came in to Louisburg from Boston and Brought in : 2 : Bums morters & : 2 : 50 : cannons[3]

26 : wensday fine weather 27 cloudy and foggy and raney Exedeing much and that day we Removed to the housen towards the town

28 : foggy and oliver green [of Groton] dies and is bured five mereens are whipt 29 wett weather Northeing remarkably this day

30 mr moody preacht at the chapiell in the four noon & mr Crocker in the after noon his text was Psalms : 56 : : 12 :

[1] Samuel Moody (H. C. 1697), minister of York, Maine, who died on August 13, 1747, aged 72 years.

[2] Samuel Langdon (H. C. 1740), a native of Boston and minister of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, afterward President of Harvard College. He died on November 29, 1797, aged 75 years.

[3] Bradstreet makes the same incredible statement. Perhaps by cannons the diarist meant guns or muskets. This expression among the soldiers may have been slang for guns much in the same way as in modern times pistols are called "guns."

July mondy: th: 1: fair weather : 2 : a compney comes in and did not now that the place was taken till sum of them came to : our houes wheir we dwellt 3 : wensday a man of war came in with : 200 : shoulders to goo to annoplos to releave our men that went their Last sumer several vessels went out Sum for france with prisoners and the others for New England

July : 4 : Severall moor vessells went out with transports to france

5 : fryday Corprall Laken orders Stephen barron to gard the armes at which Sd Barren told Corpral to kiss his ass! for which abusive afrunt he ordered him to ride the pikets one our [hour] Colo : Choot comes from New England with : 2 : compnies of men : 6 : fine groeing weather Capt Rous sailed for England for : requits and the Councill sent for 9535 = 2 : 6 : starleing to reapar the Breachess that our cannon and Bumes had made in the sitey & against the walls and upon his saling the men of war fiered a Number of guns Capt Snelleing comes from Newengland with solders July : th : 7: Sunday fine weather mr : moody preacht in the four noon in the chappill in the barrox in the sity and in the after noon mr williams [1] and mr bolch [2] in the suburbs in the after noon his text was : 1 : peter : 3c : 19v : 20 vercies Sung : 2 Last staves : 84 :: ps : Sung 2: Last staves in the : 73 :: Ps : Two men of war went out a cruseing and sum Vessels came in

July : 8: monday Nine capt viz one out of a rigment Being a committee To search the vessells to see if they had not goot sumtheing that they should not carry off that was prohibeted : and in seeharcing they found : 7 : or 8 hundred pounds worth of Ioron & brought itt on shoor Capt Dennhews [3] : Vessell came in with that sorifull News viz they was in the gut of Canso and : 7 : Indins made sins as if they wanted to come on bord and sd Dennehuw went to goo on shoor he and the rest of his offsiers and when they came at the shoor their appered : 2 : hundred : Indins and fiered upon them and Destroyed them they was cheefly ofseirs the Neumbr being : 12 : and after they had Barbeusly Butchrd them they burnt their bodys to aschies

Ju : 9 : Tuesday fine weather our compnies was called to the sittey but for what I do not now July : 10 : very plesent weather onlly in the morning foggy & misty But after wards clears off and is curis weather July : 11 : thursday fine weather a Number went to reasing Vessels they reased a scooner that Never had bin to sea

[1] Elisha Williams (H. C. 1711), who had been President of Yale College.

[2] Thomas Balch (H. C. 1733), minister of the second parish in Dedham, now Norwood.

[3] Capt. David Donahew, of Marblehead, who commanded a sloop in the fleet.

Shee is about : 40 : tun this is the : 3^{d} : vessel that has bin ras^{d} — A Number of our committy consist of Nine Cap^{t} viz one out of a Rigment our Cap^{t} being one of : s^{d} commity went to the grand Battry and in searcheing they found Iorn and sum clotheing consid rabl value.

J 12 : fryday fine weather another vessel raised moor considrabll Plunder brought on shoor from the vessels Several shallops comes in with french : &c :

July : 13 : saturday clearer weather s^{d} com^{tt} went in search of plundr and found and Brought severll boats Lods on shoor : viz : sum bar Iron sum spiks sum cabls and other Lumber : 30 : stearleing found by one of our com^{tt} severall scholops of french comes in : J : 14 : Sunday cloudy & foggy : &c : in y^{e} foor noon mr willims precht from : 1 : of chron^{cl} : 13 : 20 21 : & 22 : sung : 20 : : P : S : [Psalms] in the after noon mr fairweather[1] Preacht from y^{e} 1 : of chron : y^{e} 11 : & : 13 : on s^{d} day Took a french prize Shee was taken by Cap^{t} fletcher and he informed us that the ship that our men had a chass when we was in canso that shee arrived att Cannodo : : 32 : Days agoo :

15 : monday fine Weather. July : 16 : the sun arose clear in the morning but Presently clods up and is foggy Several vesselis coms in from New England with shoulders consisteing of 500 :

Wensday : 17 : severall of our men goo home : viz : L : Whitcomb En : hutching : Serg : godfree : Serg : Wainer Corprol Jonson : J : Willard gordin hutching : Went on search after cattle and found : 3 : horciss & : 5 : cows :

: 18 : thursday thanks giving mr Williams Preacht

A sheep Deliver^{d} to Every compney and one pint of wine[2] to keep thanks giveing with our sheep after the guts was taken out moor fitt for a Lanthorn than to Eatt Som compnies comes in : 19 : fryday fine weather

A ship sailed for france Loded with transports with a flagg of truce 20 saturday cloudy and raney a flagg of truce salled for france with transports

21 : Sunday Raney in the morneing mr Williams preacht in the foor noon from John : 20 : 31 : and in the after noon the old England people mett att the barrax & the churchmans text was in psalm : 1 : 16 : 12

vessels comes in from Newengland Brought in men women and children July 22 : monday fair weather 23 : Tuesday two of our men

[1] Samuel Fayerweather (H. C. 1743), chaplain on board of the frigate "Massachusetts," Capt. Edward Tyng. See Sabine's "Loyalists of the American Revolution" (I. 419).

[2] The wine served out to the men at this time undoubtedly was loot taken from the enemy.

of war went out after a ship and when they came up with hir they fired severall Bow guns and sum chase guns att hir and then one brod side and then shee struck to us and shee was Laden with silks and sattins and a great quantney of silver and goald and other Ritch Lodeing Shee had allso : 700 : men on board hur
24 Came in New recurets [recruits] from New England to help us
25 fair and plessent weather northe[ing] remarkably this day
: 26 : plesent weather
July 27 : Raney and foggy and thick clouds Notheing Remarkabll this Day I lay too awhal
th : 28 : fine weather and pleasent and on s^{d} Day their came in a Ritch prize that our men had taken a day or Two ago Shee was Loaded with pepper and other Valabull Lodden
J th : 29 : raney and foggy and sum thick clouds moor men comes in from New England to help us sumtheing of a curmuge [scrimmage] Betwn sum of the Land : armey and the seafarreing men
J 30 : foggy and cloudy
J 31 : raney and mistey notheing remarkabl this day
August : 1 : 1745 : thursday fair and clear and plesent wether nothing remarkable this day as i have heard
2 fry-day fair & clear thair came in a large prize which our men had taken Some days ago laden with silver and gold & other rich loaden She had been 3 years in her passage

The President then observed that, before submitting the paper relating to the footprints of Milton in early New England literature and his influence upon that literature, announced in the notice of the meeting, some reference on his part bearing on the centennial observances of the morrow might not be otherwise than appropriate. The occasion was doubly interesting. The one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of President Lincoln and of that of Charles Darwin would then be observed. However indisputably great as historical characters, neither Lincoln nor Darwin was especially connected with historical research ; and consequently no special observance of the advent of either was called for on the part of this Society. So far as Darwin was concerned, Mr. Adams said he had already borne his testimony and it stood of record in our Proceedings.[1] To it he had nothing now to add. It was somewhat otherwise as respects President Lincoln. It was not without a certain interest that, in the course of casual

[1] 2 Proceedings, xiii. 89–96, 156.

conversation before the hour of the present meeting, two among a half dozen persons present should have made allusion to having been present at Lincoln's first inauguration. Of the fast disappearing number of those there, both naturally retained a vivid recollection, not only of the incidents thereof, but of the Washington of that time. The two were the Librarian, Dr. Green, and himself. In his own case the memory of that particular day was curiously distinct. His father, C. F. Adams, — long a member of the Society, and one of its Vice-Presidents, — then occupied a seat in the national House of Representatives, and, Mr. Adams went on to say, he himself, a young man of twenty-five, was at the time of the inauguration a guest in his father's house. Not many at best of those now living can recall as matter of personal reminiscence any condition of affairs which prevailed on a specified date half a century since. The living witnesses of the incidents of that particular inaugural day are naturally fewer still; while, of course, it goes without saying that not an individual survives of those who in 1861 were prominent in public life.

Mr. Adams then referred to a communication of Mr. Matthews, a Resident Member of the Society, consisting mainly of extracts from the National Intelligencer, which had appeared in the Boston Evening Transcript of Monday, February 1. In it the course of events which marked the inauguration of March 4, 1861, was set forth. The account thus given was, from an historic point of view, sufficiently correct; but it quite failed to convey any idea of what might most appropriately be denominated "the true inwardness" of that memorable occasion, — so to speak, its politico-atmospheric conditions. These were peculiar, and just at the juncture unparalleled in our history.

All through November and December, 1860, the vague apprehension of impending calamity had throughout the country been growing into a terrifying conviction. This is well known; but it is not so fully realized how locally overstrained and nervous — how tense to a degree — conditions had become in Washington during the following early months of 1861. Suspense, long continued, had then had ample time in which to work on the nerves; and anything, it was felt, might happen. Surcharged, so to speak, with electricity, the situation

was in fact full of possibilities. Few realize now the real danger which then existed, or what might easily have happened. Only a month later the outbreak occurred, and for the time being Washington was isolated: but throughout February and early in March the seat of government was, so to speak, within the potential enemy's lines; for Maryland was a slave State, and the mob of Baltimore distinctly sympathized with the already organized Confederacy. Those were the days, too, of the famous Baltimore "Plug-uglies." The outbreak of riot and killing, which occurred only a few weeks later, when the Sixth Massachusetts endeavored to pass through Baltimore on its way to Washington, showed clearly enough the latent sympathies and savage temper of the place. Virginia, also, was doubtful ground. Anything was there possible; and Washington was full of stories of conspiracies, of possible outbreaks, of riots on Pennsylvania Avenue, and of raids from across the Potomac. Any unlooked-for incident might precipitate an outbreak. General Scott was at the head of the army; and Scott, though loyal, was by birth a Virginian. A small force of cavalry, artillery, engineers and infantry, numbering at most a few hundred men, had been concentrated at Washington, with a view to possible emergencies; but the city was, in no sense of the term, garrisoned, or in position to resist the rush of an armed mob, whether from Virginia or Maryland. That the sympathies of the residents were wholly with the secessionist cause was matter of common notoriety. The fact was too obvious to escape attention. Under these conditions every one, either resident there or in Washington for the time being only, was suggesting dangers, repeating rumors, and discussing possibilities.

The President-elect had suddenly arrived in the Capital some days before, coming unannounced and by night, — so to speak, smuggled through Maryland. There was also good cause for such precautions; for had he passed through Baltimore openly, not impossibly the outbreak of April might have been precipitated. So far as Maryland was concerned, the whole situation temporarily depended on the governor of the State, Thomas H. Hicks; and, though a Union man at heart, the environment of Governor Hicks was known to be intensely secessionist in temper. The mob of what our associate Dr. Holmes then termed in one of his spirited lyrics "the

murder-haunted town" had an ill-fame which was quite continental; and that mob, whenever it chose to assert itself, was locally in full control. It is all matter of history now; and history has recorded what the actual chances were; but, whether it has so recorded or failed to record, my own belief, due to a close and fairly intimate knowledge of what then, from day to day, took place, is that the cause of the Union owed a great deal to the decisive attitude and unquestionable courage of Henry Winter Davis, then representing Congress from Maryland. Mr. Davis's judgment, as events afterwards showed, was not always above question; his political principles and motives were openly impugned; his nerve and purpose at that juncture were, however, open to no misconception. To what extent his backing and influence stiffened up Governor Hicks at the critical juncture, I am not informed; but as matter of history, Governor Hicks proved equal to the occasion to a fair and saving degree only. His utterances were at times uncertain and his action vacillating; and had they been a shade only more so, much less wholly otherwise than they were, the national Capital would have been at the outset lost.[1]

Coming now to his own recollections, Mr. Adams said that he remembered dining on the day preceding the inauguration at the house of Secretary Seward, then in the Senate, but whose appointment as Secretary of State had been announced. It was a Sunday, and the mid-day dinner was of a very informal character. Perhaps eight or ten — like himself, visitors in Washington — were there as guests. The conversation had been of the most desultory character, when suddenly Governor Seward caused something closely resembling a tremor of surprise and curiosity about the table, by mentioning, in an incidental way, the fact that he had that morning been reading, in manuscript, the inaugural address of Mr. Lincoln, prepared for delivery on the morrow. A startled silence followed; and after a moment some one suggested that it would be extremely interesting to know what the inaugural contained. Governor Seward, in his off-hand way, then went on to say that he thought it a very sensible paper, and believed it would give general satisfaction. He then

[1] G. L. P. Radcliffe, Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War (Johns Hopkins University Studies, xix, Nos. 11–12), pp. 43–50.

added a significant comment, and one indicating, in the light of subsequent events, a curious insight on his part into the character of the President-elect. In reading the address, he said, he noticed a vein of imagination and sentiment running through Mr. Lincoln's mind, which in value outweighed, in his judgment, all his other qualities. Mr. Seward, of course, at the time gave no further indication of the details of the inaugural as a political utterance, especially as the party at his table included at least two prominent newspaper men.

The President then went on:

The following day was clear and, as I remember it, somewhat blustery. Any one who has ever encountered on Pennsylvania Avenue a March dust borne on a March wind is not likely even in the Washington of to-day to covet a repetition of the experience; and fifty years ago the streets of Washington, as yet unpaved, were always either impassable from mud or ankle-deep in dust. On the day of Lincoln's first inaugural a rasping wind was dust-ladened. None the less for that, from an early hour the whole town seemed to gather towards the Capitol. During the earlier proceedings I was present in the reporters' gallery of the Senate Chamber, surreptitiously smuggled in, as I remember it, under the friendly wing of General James Watson Webb, the famous editor of the New York Courier and Enquirer; but I can recall nothing of what took place below, except the impression made on me by the two chief personalities of the occasion — the outgoing President and the President-elect. In spite of his wry neck and dubious age, I could not but feel that Mr. Buchanan was undeniably the more presentable man of the two; his tall, large figure and white head appeared well beside Mr. Lincoln's lank angular form and hirsute face; nor did the dress and bearing of the latter indicate that knowledge which was desirable of the amenities of the time and place. As a whole the scene impressed me as being distinctly unimpressive.

During the delivery of the inaugural from the usual improvised plank structure on the east front, Dr. Green tells me he stood much nearer Mr. Lincoln than I succeeded in getting. In fact, from where I was, I could only distinguish his words now and then, without at all following the thread of the ad-

dress. As a spectacle, it was not heartening. The Capitol, it must be remembered, was at that time in a wholly unfinished condition, and derricks rose from the great dome as well as from the Senate and Representative wings. On the staging front I saw a tall, ungainly man addressing a motley gathering, — some thousands in number, — with a voice elevated to its highest pitch; but his delivery, as I remember it, was good — quiet, accompanied by little gesture and with small pretence at oratory. The grounds at the east front are so large that it is difficult ever to compute correctly an audience there gathered. I should say, however, that the mob of citizens on that occasion did not exceed four or five thousand. Probably there were many more. It was a very ordinary gathering, with a somewhat noticeable absence of pomp, state, ceremony, or even of constabulary. As I remember, not a uniform was to be seen. I recall it as a species of mass meeting evincing little enthusiasm; but silent, attentive, appreciative, and wonderfully respectable and orderly.

Throughout, however, a curious sense of uneasiness prevailed, — a sort of nervous expectancy. The thought was ever present in my mind, as I fancy in that of every individual there, of something not on the programme about to occur. I did not myself really fear, much less expect it; but, none the less, I very distinctly recall the latent mental suggestion, — what if some Southern fire-eater or fanatical secessionist should now bring this ceremony to a sudden close by a deed of violence, — by a pistol bullet from near at hand, or a rifle shot from some more distant window yonder? There was, however, no crazed and theatrical John Wilkes Booth in that gathering, or at least, if there, he did not put himself in evidence; and so the tragic outcome of four years later was not then forestalled. Presently the inaugural was brought to a close, and the audience melted slowly away. As I left the ground on my way towards Lafayette Square, I chanced across Senator Sumner, and joined him in the walk back. He was in great spirits; he was pleased with the inaugural, and evidently much relieved that the occasion had passed away in orderly fashion and without a hitch. The party to which he belonged was at last in firm possession of the machinery of government. Referring to the address, he expressed, I remember, strong approval of it, saying, in slightly oratorical

though extremely characteristic fashion, that it suggested to him the old simile of "a hand of iron in a velvet glove."

As we went westward, along F Street, which runs nearly parallel with Pennsylvania Avenue, but on higher ground, we saw in front of us a small closed carriage, low hung and drawn by a single horse only, behind which two uniformed staff-officers were riding. Recognizing it as General Scott's equipage, Mr. Sumner suggested that we should stop and speak to him. We came up to the carriage, as I recall the incident, somewhere in the neighborhood of the Patent Office building, whence the intersecting streets commanded a view of Pennsylvania Avenue, a block below. The situation at once became plain. His carriage had drawn up there, and Scott was observing the march of the procession which accompanied the President along Pennsylvania Avenue, on his way back to the White House, — the General himself driving along the street above the avenue, but commanding it at intersecting points. All his arrangements had been carefully made, and such forces as he had at his disposal, when not part of the procession, were within easy summons. It was stated, I know not how truly, that at certain points sharpshooters had been posted on roofs of houses or in the windows of some of the buildings commanding the east front of the Capitol and portions of Pennsylvania Avenue, always, of course, concealed. The artillery was, as I remember, not in sight, at least it was not so far as my observation went; but doubtless it was within immediate call of controlling points. As the batteries were of the regular army, any attempt at rioting or outbreak would, I fancy, have been summarily dealt with. I have a most distinct memory of General Scott's appearance. When Mr. Sumner addressed him through the carriage window, he was looking intently the other way, down the street towards Pennsylvania Avenue, watching the procession; but when he heard Mr. Sumner's voice, he turned quickly around, his face bearing an aspect of great relief and satisfaction, and remarked that everything was going on as smoothly and quietly as possible, and the moment of possible danger he felt had been safely passed. He shook hands with us; and we then exchanged a few words of greeting with his two aids, both of whom seemed to be in the highest of spirits; one of

them, I remember, being Colonel Keyes, of Massachusetts, afterwards a Major-General.

It is now a matter of history; and so it is unnecessary to say that the inauguration of March 4, 1861, passed off smoothly and quietly, the all-pervading sense of alarm so very manifest being certainly not without reason.

I remained in Washington several days after the inauguration, attending, I remember, the first White-House reception of President Lincoln. His appearance was indisputably awkward and ungainly. Obviously he did not feel at all at home amid his new surroundings. Though the memory of the fact has now passed away, it is comical to recall the dismay felt in Washington at the bearing and methods of the new occupants of the Executive Mansion. I have already once before here referred to it.[1] Both Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln were essentially plain people from Springfield, Illinois, — as it then existed; and the prairie Illinois capital was by no means, nor in any respect, what is known as a social centre. Naturally, then, Mrs. Lincoln had as little knowledge as was possible of the conventionalities, — I might say, of the ordinary amenities even, — of social life in Washington. The domestic arrangements and condition of affairs she found in the service of the White House failed to commend themselves to her ideas of the everlasting fitness of things. So she was quoted as talking of the unnecessary amount of "help," and of the reductions and changes in the direction of simplicity she proposed at once to introduce. As for the President, he had come to Washington filled, apparently, with a sense of the obligations in the way of office-giving which he had assumed during the canvass, and his ideas of department responsibility were of the vaguest possible character. He had some rude pocket memorandum books to which he continually referred, a species of debit and credit ledger, in which were pencilled entries relating to the various States, showing what each was entitled to have, and the persons toward whom he considered himself under special obligation. As to the tremendous crisis which then confronted the country and himself individually, — the catastrophe immediately impending, — if at that time Mr. Lincoln realized the situation, he certainly, so far as the outer world was concerned, gave no indication of the fact. A vague sort of idea had pre-

[1] 3 Proceedings, i. 116.

vailed that, should the fourth of March and the inauguration be safely passed, things would once more assume their normal shape. The apprehension of further disaster would be allayed. In that spirit of optimism so characteristic of our people, it was tacitly assumed, that the South would commit itself by no act of overt violence, until some actual invasion was attempted of what it called its "rights." The cloud, ominously gathered on the southern horizon, might thus gradually disperse. We would then shake off the besetting nightmare of the last four months, and, like Bunyan's Pilgrim, realize that it was, after all, only a dream. The ides of March were to witness the awakening.

It is curious, and now from the historic point of view even of interest, to recall the contemporary evidence of this clinging to the last strand of hope. No blow had yet been struck, nor any blood shed; and until some blow was struck and blood had actually been shed, ground for hope remained. In a word, even in March, 1861, we failed fully to realize the inevitable. We still hugged our pleasing delusions. So I find that on the very day of the inauguration I wrote home thus:

> I have always held, particularly for the last few weeks, that the secession excitement could not be expected to die away while the fourth of March was impending. The coming change of the Government was a continually disturbing element. This is at last removed, and from this time the secession excitement, I believe, will die away, and the Union feeling rise almost visibly, day by day; unless again the secession feeling is revived by some act of strange folly on the part of the Administration. Almost the last act of the Congress just expired was one of conciliation, passed in spite of factious opposition; and within the last few days I have conversed with many men from the South, including even South Carolina, and all announce a better, kinder state of feeling, needing only gentleness and conciliation to ripen into Union.

This pleasing, if somewhat iridescent, dream was dissipated during the days immediately following the inauguration. I have a most vivid recollection of the frightened feeling with which we noted the course of events, and the gradual growth of a final conviction that the worst was yet to come, but now closely impending. Instead of dispersing, the cloud which lowered south of the Potomac became almost momentarily more and more lurid, while electric flashes followed each

other in ever quicker succession. Before many more days of that momentous month of March had succeeded each other, we all realized that the "Ship of State," to use the familiar figure, was rolling helplessly on the long ground-swell of an oily sea towards a lee shore of a most alarmingly portentous aspect. A short time only, and we would find ourselves in the breakers. It was only a question of when and where and how. A catastrophe was not only inevitable but imminent; what would then happen no man for a moment pretended to predict. We all with bated breath and sickening anxiety awaited the dread moment.

One of the incidents I most clearly remember in those days was a morning horseback ride, in company with a sister, across the Potomac to Arlington. Colonel Lee, as he then was, had been, if I remember right, at the time on duty in Texas, but was known to be on his way to Washington. I had shortly before been a guest of the Lee family, dining at Arlington. On the particular morning to which I refer, — a typical Virginia spring morning, with the verdure just beginning to show on the trees and in the fields, — my sister and I had ridden over to Arlington, where we had passed half an hour or so in company with the members of the Lee family, — Mrs. Lee and her daughters. As we rode homeward down the driveway toward the Potomac, we met a hack, apparently from the station, driving up to the house. Behind it a trunk was strapped; and, as we passed, a man of fifty or thereabouts, with regular features and a grayish beard, turned towards us, evidently curious as to who we might be. I have always believed it was Colonel Lee, just back from Texas. If so, that was the only time I ever set eyes upon him. Never fully satisfied in my own mind that it was he, I have none the less a curiously distinct recollection of the look of inquiry on the face as the occupant of the vehicle glanced suddenly out with a startled expression, — so to speak, taking us in.

Shortly after, my father's establishment in Washington was broken up, and I returned to Boston; where, a few days later, his appointment to the English mission was announced.

Such are my personal recollections of Lincoln's first inauguration, and of a period in Washington than which none in the history of the country is more interesting. Certainly no period thereafter was marked by a greater anxiety, was more

pregnant with possibilities, or, for that matter, with future actualities.

I now have to submit the paper referred to in the notice of this meeting, presenting certain data on the familiarity of the Massachusetts community with John Milton and his works during the century following the publication of "Paradise Lost," — a species of aftermath of our Milton Tercentenary.

Milton's Impress on the Provincial Literature of New England

Of those who attended the Society's Tercentennial observance of Milton's birth, or have since read the report of that occasion in our recently published Serial, some will probably recall that in my so-called Introduction I raised a question as to the familiarity of our Massachusetts community with "Paradise Lost" during the century following its publication. I intentionally and with a purpose did so in these somewhat aggressive words, — "startling as it seems to say it, in all our Massachusetts literature and publications, whether of books or diaries or letters, including funeral discourses and memoirs, — the output of the entire century which followed the publication of 'Paradise Lost,' — I have been as yet able to find but a single footprint of Milton, one solitary indication only that he exercised any influence whatever over the thought or imaginings of those generations."[1]

As I designed it should, my challenge — for such it was — met with an immediate response, bringing to the surface a good deal of information of more or less interest. So far as our Massachusetts community is concerned, it constituted, coming as it did from various sources, almost an American Miltonian bibliography. This information, much of it suggestive as well as historically curious, I propose now to incorporate, as matter of record, in the Proceedings of the Society, — the aftermath, so to speak, of our Tercentenary.

In the first place, however, and speaking in a general way, it is matter of familiar history that after the first generation of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay passed on, — say from as early as the deaths of Winthrop and Cotton, the former of which occurred in 1649 and the latter in 1652, or respectively

[1] *Ante*, 50, 51.

eighteen and fifteen years before the publication of "Paradise Lost," — after, we will then say, 1650, a distinct and noticeable deterioration in the Massachusetts community is observable. Nor does the fact in any way call for explanation as something of an exceptional nature. On the contrary, this deterioration was in strict conformity with a well-known law; and we have but to consult our own recent experience to find other examples of the working of the same law. In a normal, healthy migration, especially when the moving impulse is either religious, — as in the case of Massachusetts in 1630, — or is due to Virgil's *auri sacra fames*, — as with California more than two centuries later, — the vanguard of the movement is almost invariably composed of picked men, the more energetic, adventurous, and active-minded. We have ourselves seen this natural law in active operation in the country towns of New England through the century just closed, and it is in equally active operation now; the more capable and self-confident of both sexes have moved and are still moving from our country towns into the cities or to the West. On the other hand, it is noticeable that the succeeding generation — the immediate offspring — of these people does not measure up to the standard of its fathers and mothers. A striking instance is now before us in the case of Illinois; and to-morrow's centenary lends much significance to it. To-day, has that State in public life any one man at all up to the standard of Abraham Lincoln? And, be it also remembered, Lyman Trumbull and Stephen A. Douglas — both men of the first generation of settlers — were Lincoln's contemporaries.

It is not necessary to dilate on this topic. Let any one who has had occasion to observe, take counsel of his own experience. My individual opportunities have in this respect been considerable, extending over a wide field and the lifetime of more than one generation; and the conclusion I draw from that experience tends distinctly to a confirmation of the rule. From the Great Lakes to the Pacific Coast, as I have seen the men I knew of the first generation pass on, there has been something pathetic and almost, if not altogether, disturbing, in the uniform tendency to manifestly lower standards in the succeeding generation, — in many cases to a distinct and well-developed degeneracy. This, also, in spite of our continually more and more elaborated educational system and facilities.

In the cases referred to, the tendency has been largely due to the unduly rapid accumulation of wealth, a crude accompanying civilization, and the necessarily incident demoralization. This unquestionably will in due time correct itself. In the case of New England, however, after those of the first migration — typified by Winthrop and Cotton — died off, or at a line roughly drawn at about a score of years before the appearance of "Paradise Lost," — say at 1650, — the New England community lapsed into a phase of distinct and restricted provincialism. Cut off from all close intercourse with Europe, without any advancing educational opportunities, with no rapid accumulation of wealth, the tendency both in action and in thought was through more than a century distinctly towards the local and commonplace. Industrious and thrifty, the mental activities of Massachusetts, as of her sister Provinces, instinctively inclined during that long period to theological issues; ever conscious of the existence of a mother-country of admitted superiority in all respects, from whom condescension was accepted as of course, they lived under the dwarfing influence of a colonial system. An extreme and almost subservient deference to European, and especially English, opinion and acquirement, as we of the older generation can testify from memory, was inherited from the fathers, nor did it die away until long after the War of Secession, and in fact only within the last score of years. That it has wholly died out yet admits of question.

But, as respects these periods, both that of genesis and that of slow development during the century succeeding genesis, Massachusetts has a distinct and, so far as I am competent to judge, a unique literary record. In that record, as in a mirror, it can be studied as a community. This record consists of four separate works, covering almost exactly a century of time. These are the Bradford and Winthrop Histories, Mather's Magnalia, and Sewall's Diary. The first two are of the settlement period (1620–1650); the last two are photographic representations of subsequent life and thought, — the intellectual activities and material and political existence of the three succeeding generations. The Magnalia appeared in 1702; Sewall's Diary closed in 1729.

Coming now to Milton and the vogue and influence of "Paradise Lost," during the century following its publication,

at a memorial meeting of the British Academy held on December 10, a paper prepared by Professor Dowden was read, bearing on the Miltonian impress observable in the English literature of the eighteenth century (1701–1750); and another paper was submitted by Professor J. G. Robertson, entitled "Milton's Fame on the Continent." I do not know that either of these papers has as yet been printed in full; but somewhat detailed abstracts of them are to be found in the issue of the London Athenæum of January 2. The paper I now submit in a degree supplements the two, relating as it does to the footprints of Milton discoverable in the trans-Atlantic thought and literature during the first half of the eighteenth century. What evidence is to be found of American familiarity with "Paradise Lost" during the Provincial period, or of the influence there and then exercised by it or by Milton?

And, in the first place, as to continental reprints and translations. Passing by Professor Dowden's paper, which relates wholly to English editions of Milton, reprints thereof, and commentaries thereon, from John Dennis's criticism to Bentley's conjectural emendations, Professor Robertson shows that the earliest translation of "Paradise Lost" was that in German by Berge, published at Zerbst as early as 1682. As late, however, as 1718, it was declared that the English epic "had not been, and doubtless never would be, translated into French." Nevertheless it was only ten years later that the first French translation appeared, that of Dupré de Saint Maur. It was a free rendering; and Professor Robertson says of it that, very far from satisfactory, it was eminently readable, and suited the taste of the time. He then goes on as follows:

> Meanwhile, the Italians and the Germans were interesting themselves in Milton. It was, in fact, the Italians rather than the French who were the pioneers of a true critical appreciation of Milton's genius on the Continent. An Italian settled in England, Paolo Rolli, produced the best translation of "Paradise Lost" into verse in the eighteenth century. But even greater importance must be attached to the relation of Italian criticism to Milton. Muratori, in his eloquent pleading for the freedom and supremacy of the imagination in poetry, had prepared the way, and that writer's "Della perfetta poesia italiana," although it does not mention Milton, is the best vindication of Milton's

greatness. Muratori's distinguished disciple Luzan was the first Spaniard to interest himself in Milton; and the two Swiss critics, Bodmer and Breitinger, who vigorously championed the English poet in Germany, drew their most vital ideas from Muratori.

Bodmer's prose translation of "Paradise Lost" (1732), clumsy although it is, is of the first importance for the history of German poetry and criticism. It was virtually round this translation that the famous literary controversy took place between the Swiss critics on the one hand, and the Leipsic professor Gottsched, as the defender of French classicism, on the other. Gottsched was worsted, and from the midst of the strife emerged in Klopstock a genuine poet, the fountain head of whose inspiration was Milton.

As a prose writer and controversialist, Milton's was already a name familiar to continental publicists. As he expressed it himself, his eyesight was "overplied" and lost in a "noble task, of which all Europe rings from side to side." Under such circumstances the quick acceptance of "Paradise Lost" by continental countries, and its rendering into other tongues, were naturally to be expected; and America was throughout that century a wholly negligible quantity. But New England was at least both English and Puritan, and as such it was distinctly faith-founded. To the manner born, beside being a Puritan, Milton was also an exponent, if not *the* exponent, of the Puritan's faith. Such being the case, the degree of recognition and acceptance at the time accorded to "Paradise Lost" by those of its author's own blood and habits of thought and faith across the Atlantic, is a subject not unworthy of the investigation suggested. In my Introduction at our Tercentenary, it will be remembered I put forth three queries: (1) was there any trace of Milton's influence to be found in our American literature prior to the War of Independence; (2) were there any quotations from "Paradise Lost," or references to it, to be found in American publications prior to 1767; and (3) could any one produce a copy of the "Paradise Lost" which found a well-authenticated abiding place on a Massachusetts book-shelf prior to 1767?

In the light of information elicited by this triple challenge, I am now prepared to answer the questions thus raised. I can do so with a greater or less approximation to exhaustive accuracy.

The parable of the sower might here fittingly be referred

to. Indeed, it would afford a highly appropriate text introductory of what is to follow; for it is, in the first place, desirable to say something as to the American soil and conditions during the Provincial period, so far as literature proper was concerned. During the century following the publication of "Paradise Lost," England and France were intellectually in a condition of marked activity, — the soil was ripe, and ready for fruition.[1] It was the period of Dryden and Racine, of Addison and Molière, of Voltaire and Pope. The seed cast by Milton, therefore, fell on fertile ground, — ground warm and kindly, — and the natural result followed. It bore fruit an hundredfold. But with America the case stood far otherwise. In a very famous passage in his speech on Conciliation with America, Burke told Parliament that the Americans were at that time (1775) essentially a book-buying people. Their purchases, however, judging by what he said, were confined to works on Law; though we, from other sources, know that there was also a very considerable American demand for theological treatises. Importers of books of a certain class, Americans had not as yet arrived at the productive literary stage. As I have said, it was with us the age of Cotton Mather and Samuel Sewall; and when it came to John Milton as to the scriptural sower, it is obvious that our American soil was not in a receptive condition. On the contrary, it was distinctly glacial, — the ground deep down was stiff with frost. So, though Massachusetts was beyond question Puritan, and the daughter of that English Commonwealth with which Milton was so closely identified, the poetical seed he cast here fell by the wayside and in stony places. I think, indeed, it may safely be said that there has not come down to us a single indication of a real poetic receptivity in all America, much less of a genuine poetic impulse, — something that moved instinctively to an expression, — from 1650 until after the year 1800. Some trans-Atlantic verses, it is true, were from time to time written during those years; but the writers were always flagrantly imitative, and usually the product was pure doggerel. We find such imitations as the little volume of fugitive pieces entitled "A Collection of Poems by Several Hands" (Boston, 1744), or such wretched, jingling doggerel as Michael Wiggles-

[1] See Introduction in Spingarn's Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century (Oxford, 1908).

worth's "Day of Doom." The former volume, merely a weak imitation of Pope, I shall presently refer to more at length; but the production last specified, Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom," gave a far more correct representation of the poetic taste, or rather the taste for versification, then prevailing in the American Provinces. It seems to have met and satisfied the popular demand. Of it Professor Tyler says:

> The eighteen hundred copies of the first edition were sold within a single year; which implies the purchase of a copy of "The Day of Doom" by at least every thirty-fifth person then in New England, — an example of the commercial success of a book never afterward equalled in this country. . . . But no narrative of our intellectual history during the colonial days can justly fail to record the enormous influence of this terrible poem during all those times. Not only was it largely circulated in the form of a book, but it was hawked about the country, in broadsides, as a popular ballad; it "was the solace," as Lowell playfully says, "of every fireside, the flicker of the pine-knots by which it was conned perhaps adding a livelier relish to its premonitions of eternal combustion;" its pages were assigned in course to little children, to be learned by heart, along with the catechism; as late as the present century, there were in New England many aged persons who were able to repeat the whole poem; for more than a hundred years after its first publication, it was, beyond question, the one supreme poem of Puritan New England; and Cotton Mather predicted that it would continue to be read in New England until the day of doom itself should arrive.[1]

It hardly needs to be said that a generation of men and women, much more a community, which was satisfied with Michael Wigglesworth's jingling versification and barbaric images had little use for either sonorous music or lofty imaginings clothed in John Milton's blank verse. In this respect the comment of Professor Tyler on Samuel Wigglesworth, the far more poetically endowed son of Michael, is suggestive. He tells us that while at college, about the year 1709, Samuel Wigglesworth wrote a few verses which alone suffice to show that he was endowed with a true poetic sense. Professor Tyler[2] then, however, suggestively adds that this son of Michael "soon became wrapped in the occupations of a country-pastor," and his muse "was content to utter itself, during the subsequent fifty-nine years of its earth-life, in the commonplaces of theologic talk." It was another case of smoth-

[1] M. C. Tyler, History of American Literature, ii. 34, 35; [2] 38.

ering environment, — the Massachusetts atmosphere of Cotton Mather and Sewall. Professor Tyler in like manner says of the Rev. John Adams, of Newport, that he was "an accomplished, pious and pleasant gentleman in his time; but in poetry he sounded no note that was not conventional and imitative."[1]

While, therefore, the footprints of Dryden, and yet more of Pope, can be distinctly traced in the sands of that arid New England waste, I have as yet been unable to find any indication whatever of a poetic influence exercised by Milton to the extent of even an attempt at imitation. Nor do I find reference to any trace of the sort in Professor Tyler's work. The whole American rhythmic tendency seems to have been towards jingle and commonplace; it was devoid equally of warmth, of smoothness, and of originality. So much for Milton's influence on the literature of the period in question.

As respects quotations, it is somewhat different. In my Tercentennial Introduction I questioned whether there was any reference to Milton, or quotation from his poems, to be found in the Magnalia. I find I was in error. My attention has been called to at least two, if not to three such. They are also highly characteristic of the Reverend Cotton Mather. They do show, however, that he knew to a certain extent, at least, his "Paradise Lost." The first quotation, though not in Milton's own words, occurs in Mather's tract entitled "Pietas in Patriam: the Life of His Excellency Sir William Phips, Knt." (London, 1697, p. 31):

> They [New Englanders] found, that they were like to make no Weapons reach their Enswamped Adversaries, except Mr. *Milton* could have shown them how.
>
> To have pluckt up the Hills with all their Load,
> Rocks, Waters, Woods, and by their shaggy tops,
> Up-lifting, bore them in their hands, Therewith
> The Rebel Host to'v over-whelm'd —
>
> Paradise Lost, vi. 644–647.[2]

[1] M. C. Tyler, History of American Literature, ii. 55.

[2] In Milton these lines read,

> They plucked the seated hills, with all their load
> Rocks, waters, woods, and, by their shaggy tops
> Uplifting, bore them in their hands. Amaze,
> Be sure, and terror, seized the rebel host.

So it was thought that the *English* Subjects, in these Regions of *America*, might very properly take this occasion, to make an attempt upon the *French*, . . .

This quotation in the same modified form is again found in the Life of Phips reproduced in the Magnalia (Hartford, 1855, I. 183).

The next quotation in the Magnalia (II. 557) is as follows:

The English Interest in America must at last with bleeding lamentations cry out,

Heu! Patior Telis, Vulnera facta meis.

For after this, the *Auri sacra Fames*, that "cursed hunger of lucre," in the diverse nations of Europeans here, in diverse colonies bordering upon one another, soon furnished the salvages with *tools* to destroy those that furnish'd them:

> — Tools, pregnant with infernal flame,
> Which into hollow engines, long and round,
> Thick ramm'd at the other bore, with touch of fire
> Dilated and infuriate, doth send forth
> From far with thund'ring noise among their foes
> Such implements of mischief, as to dash
> To pieces and o'erwhelm whatever stands
> Adverse. —
>
> Paradise Lost, vi. 483–490.[1]

The third quotation is, however, much the most curious; for in that Cotton Mather actually tries his hand at even more extensive adaptation. He, so to speak, identifies himself with Milton, attuning him to trans-Atlantic conditions. The inspiring original is found in the "Paradise Lost" (VI. 386–393) and the lines read as follows:

> And now, their mightiest quelled, the battle swerved,
> With many an inroad gored; deformed rout
> Entered, and foul disorder; all the ground
> With shivered armour strown, and on a heap
> Chariot and charioter lay overturned,
> And fiery foaming steeds; what stood recoiled,
> O'er-wearied, through the faint Satanic host,
> Defensive scarce, or with pale fear surprised —

[1] Mather has to suit his purpose altered the wording in three particulars.

The Matherian adaptation (Magnalia, II. 568) to Massachusetts conditions runs thus:

> And now their mightiest quell'd, the battel swerved,
> With many an inrode gor'd; deformed rout
> Enter'd, and foul disorder; all the ground
> With shiver'd armour strown, and on a heap,
> Salvage and Sagamore lay overturn'd,
> And fiery, foaming blacks; what stood, recoil'd,
> O'er wearied, and with panick fear surpris'd.

But perhaps after these most thoroughly characteristic traces of Milton's influence on Cotton Mather, the most suggestive vindication, as respects poetic and literary conditions of time and place, is this specimen of Miltonic verse "Written in the Inimitable Paradise Lost," reproduced in the publication entitled "Select Essays, With some few Miscellaneous Copies of Verses Drawn by Ingenious Hands. Printed (at Boston?) in the year 1714 (pages 10, 11):

Written in the Inimitable Paradise Lost.

> GReat *Milton* in this Book has told us more,
> Than ever Man or Angel did before:
> His wondrous Vision do's Admiration claim
> From All who've hear'd the Trumpet of its Fame.
> Inspir'd he do's in mighty Numbers tell,
> How the accurs'd Apostate Angels fell
> Thro' dismal CHAOS headlong into Hell.
> *His Daring Muse* came down from *Blest Abodes*,
> To sing *Great Battles* of the Warring Gods.
> His Muse on fire with an Immortal Flight
> "Leads out the Warring *Seraphims* to fight.
> Of Love and War in high harmonious Lays
> He treats, and sings his great Creator's Praise.
> He tells how the ALMIGHTY did create
> *Adam* and *Eve*, and sings *their* happy State;
> How plac'd in *Eden*, in those Blest Abodes,
> And were but little inferiour to † Gods: († *Angels*)
> How Monarch *Adam* before's unhappy Fall
> Triumphantly did Lord it over all,
> Made Happy and Immortal, Free from Harms,
> And crown'd by Heaven, with the all-sacred Charms,
> Of his fair Consort *Eve*.
> Ten thousand Things, all inexpressible
> He sings besides,
> Which *Milton's* Self can only speak and tell.

Passing from these instances, the next quotation from "Paradise Lost" (I. 34–48) to which my attention has been called is one in the issue of "The New-England Courant" of July 2, 1722. It begins,

Th' Infernal Spirit; he it was whose guile

and it is unnecessary to quote it in full. It is introduced with the remark, — "Hear how the lofty *Milton* sings of this in his own inimitable Strain."

In the issue of the same paper for December 9, 1723, is found another quotation of about five lines from "Paradise Lost" (VIII. 54–58).

Another quotation of three and one-half lines (X. 1073–1076) is found in "The New-England Weekly Journal" of August 14, 1727; and in the next issue of that paper, August 21, 1727, there is a copy of "VERSES. Written in Milton's *Paradise Lost.*" This is a somewhat lengthy composition, to which the letter "L" is affixed. It was written by the Rev. Mather Byles, and is reprinted in the small volume entitled "Poems on Several Occasions," by Mr. Byles. (Boston, 1744, pp. 25–34).

Further allusions to Milton are to be found in the Weekly Journal issues of October 9, 1727, and December 30, 1728; and in the issue of February 5, 1733, is a quotation of twelve lines from "Paradise Lost" (IV. 750–761), headed "*On* Love *and* Marriage"; — the familiar passage beginning "*Hail* wedded Love."

A quotation of seven lines from "Paradise Lost" (VIII. 100–106) appears on the titlepage of "The New-England Diary: Or, Almanack For the Year of our Lord Christ, 1735. . . . By a Native of New-England," Nathan Bowen, "printed by T. Fleet, Boston, in New-England." And Nathaniel Ames introduced his "Almanack" for 1744 with the following address to the "Courteous Reader":

You have often heard of the Advantages, Temporal and Spiritual that arise from *Temperance:* And if you take Notice of that divine Poem, writ by the best of English Poets, i. e. Milton's *Paradise Lost*, after *Adam's* Vision of Diseases, a dreadful Scene! The Angel tells him that Abstinence was the sole Method of Escape from the ruinous Assault of those Diseases, and of obtaining long Life.

In the same year, 1744, two allusions to Milton are found in "The American Magazine"; the first (I. 258) in some verses entitled "*An Epistle from* Cambridge,"

> Nor tow'ring *Milton's* lofty flights,

and the second (I. 341),

> Prink *Milton's* true Sublime, with *Swift's* true Wit

in a composition entitled "*The* ART *of* PREACHING, *in Imitation of* Horace's ART *of* POETRY."

In the same publication for the following year there is (II. 239–244) "*An* ACCOUNT *of the LIFE of Mr.* JOHN MILTON"; and, in 1746, Nathaniel Ames prepared his calendar for March in the almanac for that year, with another quotation from "Paradise Lost" (II. 496–501).

A quotation of three lines (VIII. 484, 488, 489) appears on the titlepage of "The Antigonian and Bostonian Beauties; A Poem," by *W. S.* A. B., which bears the imprint "Boston: Printed and Sold by D. Fowle in Queen-street."

As respects Milton's prose writings, incidental references to them are to be found in Sewall's Diary (II. 13) and in the voluminous Mather publications. In his "Manuductio ad Ministerium" (Boston, 1726, p. 36), Mather says:

> . . . go dip into your *Logic*. But count it enough, if you have gone through a *Milton*, or a *Gutherleth*, or a *Watts*. . . . But for the *Vulgar Logic*, I must freely say, you lose Time, if you steer any otherwise in it, than, *Touch and Go*.

The reference is undoubtedly to Milton's treatise entitled "Artis Logicæ Plenior Institutio" (London, 1672), the copy of which, still in the Prince Library, with the signature "T. Prince. 1704. Cantab. 1ˢ 6ᵈ silver." belonged to Prince while a student at Harvard. There is also a copy in the Harvard University Library, bearing the inscription "Simon Bradstreet's Book 1724." As Bradstreet was graduated in the Class of 1728, he was, at the time noted, a student.

I have referred to a small publication which appeared from the Boston press in 1744, entitled "A Collection of Poems. By several Hands." A copy of it, given to us by the late Charles Deane, is in the Library of this Society. Of it Professor Tyler says:

Being the product of a literary combination, it was doubtless looked upon at the time as a work representative of the poetic taste and skill then attained in the land; and it has since been described as a landmark of literary progress up to that date. If it had such significance, the indications are rather depressing; they report little more than weak reverberations of the imagery and syllables of Alexander Pope.[1]

In one of the versified compositions — for I cannot bring myself to call them poems — in this most suggestive volume, is the following allusion to Milton, as respects rhyme highly characteristic of the period which followed Dryden and preceded Pope,

> May Milton's force and Dryden's smoothness join
> With mingled lustre on your Isle to shine (p. 6).

The passage in which these lines occur is quoted also in the Weekly Journal of October 9, 1727.

Thus much as respects allusions to Milton and quotations from his writings, more especially the "Paradise Lost," found in our literature during the early Provincial period. They are scattered through the publications of that period, at long intervals and in various connections. Though it was read evidently, and more or less appreciated, there is nothing to indicate any general familiarity with the poetry of Milton. Not until the following, or nineteenth, century did it come, so to speak, to its own. Then, at last, the "Paradise Lost" became the Massachusetts classic, supplanting and quite displacing Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom" as such.

Coming now to individual copies of "Paradise Lost," I have been unable to discover a single, well-authenticated case of one now in existence, which also occupied a place on a Massachusetts bookshelf prior to 1767. That such existed, I know. There was one case in my own family, — the case referred to by John Quincy Adams, in the quotation I have given from his diary in the note to the Tercentenary publication in our last Serial. This copy in two small volumes stood, he says, in the closet of his mother's bed-chamber about the year 1778. John Adams, we know, had a copy which he read with much enthusiasm at Worcester in 1756. What became

[1] M. C. Tyler, History of American Literature, ii. 55.

of this copy, which not improbably was the one John Quincy Adams remembered in the closet of his mother's bedroom, I have been unable to ascertain. It is not now in the accumulation at Quincy, nor in the John Adams library. There was a copy of Milton's Poetical Works, in two volumes, of a very handsome edition (1720) given to Harvard College Library in the early part of the century. The volume containing "Paradise Lost" was destroyed in the fire of 1764. The other volume, apparently borrowed at the time of the fire, escaped destruction. It is now one of the most precious possessions of the Harvard College Library.[1] As to the possession of copies of Milton's poems in New England, Mr. M. J. Canavan writes me, "On the other hand there is no book by Milton in Increase Mather's catalogue of his library in 1664. Nothing by Milton in the Catalogue of some 1400 books of Rev. Samuel Lee (of Bristol, R. I.) in 1693." It is interesting that Cotton Mather writes of Lee in the Magnalia (I. 602) that "hardly ever a more *universally learned* person trod the American strand." I have also caused inquiries to be made among the Loyalist families in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, but without result. No trace of any copy of "Paradise Lost" is there to be found, except one of an edition of 1711, which may or may not have been brought to this coun-

[1] Mr. William C. Lane, Librarian of Harvard University, writes me, under date of February 25, 1909, as follows concerning the copies of Milton's writings in possession of Harvard College during the period in question:

"Before 1764, the Library had a copy of Milton's Poetical Works, London, 1720, two volumes, quarto, and of this copy one volume survives to the present day. It had, also, several volumes of the prose writings, and it is possible that a copy of the fourth edition of 'Paradise Lost,' 1688, given to us by the younger Thomas Hollis, was received before 1764; but it is more likely that this and other editions of Milton which we still have were received after the fire and before 1774. Before 1774, Hollis had sent us, beside several volumes of prose, Poetical Works, 1695, folios; 'Paradise Lost,' 1674; an Italian translation of 'Paradise Lost,' 1742; a French translation, 1743; and a Latin translation, 1686; beside the fourth edition of 'Paradise Lost,' 1688, mentioned above. Hollis also sent us at about the same time two copies of Bishop Pearce's 'Review of the Text of Paradise Lost,' London, 1733.

"In a brief catalogue of the Library, printed in 1773, 'frequentiorem in usum Harvardinatum,' is found the entry 'Milton (John) all his Works.' In the printed catalogue of 1790 are found the titles mentioned above, and in addition a French translation of 'Paradise Lost,' printed in Paris in 1792, presented by John Quincy Adams in 1797, and Bentley's edition, London, 1732, presented by the Province of New Hampshire soon after the fire, beside other copies of prose volumes."

try before the eastward Tory migration of 1775. I thought there might be a copy among the inherited books of the Quincy family. Search, however, has failed to reveal it.

Under these circumstances, I have been forced to the conclusion that, while many copies of "Paradise Lost" had unquestionably been imported into New England prior to 1767, and were read and the poem greatly admired by certain of the more educated, yet, as respects poetic impulse, there is no evidence of any, even the slightest, Massachusetts response to the one great Puritan poet. So far as America was concerned, during the century succeeding the publication of his epic, the seed cast by him fell, as I have said, on stony places and by the roadside; nor did it bear perceptible fruit until after the dawn of the nineteenth century. The "Paradise Lost" then became not only an inmate of every educated household, but a text-book in our schools.

The earliest American reprint of the "Paradise Lost" was that by Robert Bell, brought out in Philadelphia in 1777, the year of the British occupation, as part of a two-volume edition of the "Poetical Works," to which was prefixed a Life by Thomas Newton. The Newton edition was reprinted, in two volumes bound in one, for William Young and Joseph James, Chestnut Street, in 1788; and it was again reprinted, still in two volumes bound in one, "by W. Woodhouse at the Bible, No. 6, South Front-street" in 1791. The same year Henry Taylor, also of Philadelphia, brought out, separately, the "Paradise Regain'd," together with "poems on several occasions." It was not, however, until 1794 that a New England reprint appeared. The Newton text was then brought out in one volume, duodecimo, "Printed at Springfield, Massachusetts, by James R. Hutchins, for Ebenezer Larkin, Cornhill, and E. & S. Larkin, State-street, Boston," and again in 1796, "Boston, Printed by J. Bumstead, for E. Larkin." After the year 1800 the reprints followed each other in quick succession, and it would be superfluous to try to specify them in the present connection.

It is none the less interesting and suggestive to note that both in Philadelphia and in New England, in answer to a probable demand, the publication of other and theological writings of Milton preceded that of his poetical works. The first was "An old Looking-Glass for the Laity and Clergy of

all denominations, Who either give or receive Money under Pretence of the Gospel: being Considerations touching The likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church of Christ"; with life of Milton. Philadelphia, printed for Robert Bell, and sold by J. Cruikshank, and I. Collins, Printers in Third-Street, 1770 (pp. x, 74, 12mo). And this one of Milton's prose works was reprinted (100 pp. 16mo) in New Haven, by Thomas & Samuel Green in 1774. Other editions of the prose works appeared from time to time after 1800; and the complete writings were finally published in this country in 1853, only two years after their appearance in England.

This paper has already far exceeded the length originally intended; but, in the course of my researches in connection with it, I accidentally came across one matter of historical interest indicating a curious and somewhat close connection between John Milton and certain personages conspicuously associated with Massachusetts history. An intimacy seems to have existed between him and Roger Williams; for it is stated in Romeo Elton's Life of Williams that, while in London in 1652 and 1653, he passed his hours of leisure "with a kindred spirit, . . . Milton — to whom he refers in his subsequent correspondence" (p. 109); and in a letter to John Winthrop of Connecticut, dated at Providence, July 12, 1654, Williams writes, "The secretary of the council Mr. Milton, for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages" (p. 114).

John Winthrop, Jr., it will also be remembered, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Edmund Reade, and step-daughter of the famous Hugh Peter, he having married Reade's widow. A close connection, therefore, existed between Peter and Winthrop, and Peter seems to have been associated in a way with Milton. In his "History of New England" (I. 586) Dr. Palfrey writes, "Hugh Peter and Thomas Welde, sent over by Massachusetts to look after its affairs, both rose to influence with Cromwell, and the former, as his chaplain, walked by the Protector's Secretary, John Milton, at his funeral." The order of Cromwell's funeral is given by Thomas Burton in his Diary (II. 524). It there appears that one of the files or ranks at the funeral comprised "Chaplains at Whitehall, Mr. White, Mr. Sterry, Mr. Hooke, Mr. Howe,

Mr. Lockyer, Mr. Peters," and the rank almost immediately following consisted of "Secretaries of the French and Latin tongues, Mr. Dradon, Mr. Marvel,[1] Mr. Sterry, Mr. John Milton, Mr. Hartlibbe, Sen."

Remarks were made during the meeting by the President, John D. Long, Grenville H. Norcross, Andrew McFarland Davis, James F. Hunnewell, Barrett Wendell, George L. Kittredge, and Moorfield Storey.

[1] This Marvel was Andrew Marvell, another poet, who served as assistant to Milton as Latin Secretary to the Protector.

In his study on "Milton and Vondel: A Curiosity of Literature," published in 1885, George Edmundson speaks of the little appreciation given to Milton's "Paradise Lost" for some time after its publication, and the active controversy over its originality in the eighteenth century, in which even forgeries were prepared to prove him a plagiarist. Deprecating a hostile attack upon Milton's genius, he uses the circumstances of the Roger Williams incident (see p. 169) to prove that Milton was familiar with the Dutch tongue, indicates the reasons for believing that Milton may have studied the writings of Vondel, and passes "to the actual proofs from internal evidence that he *must* have done so." The inquiry possesses interest in our connection only because of the instrumentality of Williams. The arguments of Mr. Edmundson were examined by Edmund Gosse and J. R. MacIlraith in the London "Academy," xxviii, 265, 293, 308, 342; and anonymously in the London "Athenæum," 1885, ii, 599, and the "Nation" (New York), xlii, 264. My attention was called to Mr. Edmundson's essay by Mr. M. J. Canavan, of Boston.

MARCH MEETING, 1909.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the senior Vice-President, SAMUEL A. GREEN, in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library, and reported the gift by the President of twelve interleaved almanacs, 1738–1784, ten of which had belonged to and had been annotated by Rev. William Smith, pastor of Weymouth, 1734–1783, the father of Abigail the wife of John Adams. Extracts will be printed in the Proceedings.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that Worthington C. Ford had accepted his election as a Resident Member, and Lyon Gardiner Tyler, of Williamsburg, Virginia his election as a Corresponding Member.

The senior VICE-PRESIDENT reported the appointment by the Council of the following Committees, in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year,

Messrs. Nathaniel Paine, Morton Dexter, and James F. Hunnewell.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,

Messrs. S. Lothrop Thorndike and Thomas Minns.

To examine the Library and Cabinet,

Messrs. Lindsay Swift, Edward H. Clement, and Frederic Winthrop.

Mr. RHODES, referring to the new issue of postage stamps by the United States Post Office, announced a gift of a set of die proofs which he had received from the President, Mr. Adams, now in Washington, and of which he wrote:

The "set of die proofs" of the issue of stamps is a unique possession, which the Society owes to the courtesy of Mr. Meyer. This set comes to the Society by special favor, and, as a rarity, is of great value. So far as Mr. Dalton and his instrumentality in securing the change and recurrence to the old historic system of stamps are con-

cerned, this material and the Postmaster-General's letter make the record in our Proceedings complete and unique. It has a very considerable interest historically.

Mr. RHODES then read the following letter written while Mr. Meyer was Postmaster-General:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 26, 1909.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS, — I am enclosing you herewith a set of die proofs of the new issue of postage stamps including the Lincoln Commemorative Stamp.

The simplicity of design and artistic qualities are due primarily to a pamphlet by Charles H. Dalton (called to my attention by the author), in which certain suggestions are made together with an account of the Houdon statue of Washington. For reasons therein mentioned I confined the busts to the head of Washington, with the exception of the one-cent stamp, representing Franklin, also from a Houdon statue.

The exclusive use of the heads of Franklin and Washington (the first Postmaster-General of this country and the first President of the United States) is not a new departure, but simply a return to the original practice of the Department in 1847. On the new stamps all unnecessary lettering has been eliminated.

The same policy was carried out by me in the case of the stamped envelopes, the one-cent presenting the head of Franklin and the others that of Washington. I enclose a specimen of each.

As the Department is indebted to the late Charles H. Dalton, of Boston, for the admirable suggestions which were adopted, I am very glad to fulfil your wish by sending a set of the die proofs of these stamps for the Massachusetts Historical Society. Faithfully yours,

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

The vote which follows was reported from the Council and was passed unanimously:

The Massachusetts Historical Society had its attention called to the chaotic and inartistic condition of our postage stamps, at its January meeting of 1906, by an interesting paper from Charles H. Dalton.[1] Mr. Dalton recommended the adoption of the Houdon head of Washington on all of the stamps except the one-cent stamp, which should bear the head of Franklin. The Postmaster-General has issued new series with the Houdon head on all the denominations except the one-cent and the ten-cent special delivery stamps; the one-cent stamp has

[1] 2 Proceedings, xx. 6-12.

the Houdon Franklin head. The different denominations which bear the Washington head are distinguished by different colors, and those colors are well selected and satisfying to the eye. The result is a really beautiful series of stamps.

The Massachusetts Historical Society desires therefore to thank the former Postmaster-General, George v. L. Meyer, for his good judgment and artistic selection.

Mr. NORCROSS, for the Committee on the subject of renaming streets and squares, described the Act passed by the General Court and signed by Governor Draper on March 2.

Dr. EVERETT, in connection with the names of Boston streets, called attention to the great want of taste, to use no harsher name, which has been displayed in naming the Boston Grammar Schools. At the present moment the hysterical adoration of Mr. Lincoln's memory which is sweeping over the country has led to a proposal to give up the names of Winthrop and Brimmer, substituting for both the name "Abraham Lincoln," though there is already a Lincoln school. To do away with the name of Winthrop, the greatest American of the years preceding the Revolution, is in violation of all propriety and gratitude. That name as given to a school superseded that of Johnson, which recalled the single romantic incident in the founding of the Bay Colony, and ought never to be itself superseded.

Several of the school names, however we may respect the individuals for whom they are named, are in the worst possible taste; those, namely, with the middle initial, — John A. Andrew, Thomas N. Hart, Henry L. Pierce, William E. Russell. Names like Charles Sumner, Phillips Brooks, and Washington Allston are not quite so bad; but the simple surname would be in every respect more graceful. It is just possible that such a course would lead to uncertainty; thus, it might be doubtful if a Sumner School in East Boston were commemorative of Senator Charles Sumner or of General William H. Sumner. But what harm would there be in using a name in the form to commemorate two public men who have both deserved well of Boston?

Some schools, the Agassiz and Russell for instance, have been named for men who had no connection with Boston at all. It is most appropriate that their names should be attached

to schools in Cambridge, but not in Boston, one result being that the name of Otis, honorable alike in national and municipal history, has disappeared. Some remonstrance against this chaotic nomenclature might well proceed from the Society.

Dr. EVERETT called attention to some inaccuracies, not easy to excuse, in prominent writers. He recalled to the members a paper which he had presented some years ago on the Last Royal Veto [1] — afterwards expanded in the Atlantic Monthly. He showed there that while most historians left the veto unmentioned, the few who did mention it assigned it to 1707. The real date is March, 1707–8, which the new style, universal in modern histories, will call 1708. Yet the late lamented Professor Maitland, in his history of the English Constitution, repeats the old error; he appears never to have looked up the facts.

The same writer, in speaking of the Usurpation of the House of Lancaster, says the "Earl of York" was on friendly terms with Henry V. This is Shakespeare's "Edward, the Duke of York." If an American writer had made such a blunder, English revisers would have been unsparing of their sneers.

Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, as is well known, is engaged in publishing a series of novels. Just as Christopher North remarked on the Æneid, that one takes but little account of its hero, since its real interest is in the heroine, namely, the Eternal City herself, so Dr. Mitchell, who fancies he is writing about Washington and Jefferson and a pair of lovers, really has for his heroine the City of Philadelphia, dwelling as he does with intense affection on Willings, Whartons, Cadwaladers, and Chews. In the "Red City," which describes events in Washington's second term (1793–1797), he alludes to the lottery raised for the benefit of Princeton College, and makes one of his characters say that the Middle States ought to follow the example of Massachusetts, where lotteries are forbidden. Lotteries were not forbidden by law in this State till 1821, when the Hon. Peter C. Brooks exposed their pernicious effect. In the beginning of the nineteenth century several of the Harvard College buildings were erected by means of a lottery.

The senior VICE-PRESIDENT said:

I would remind the members that now it is just ten years since the Society has occupied the present building. The first

[1] 2 Proceedings, v. 156–163.

meeting held here took place in March, 1899; and during this period of time practically one half of the present membership has been chosen, or, to be exact, forty-eight out of ninety-nine members. It follows that one half of the Society to-day has no close connection with the former building in Tremont Street and has no associations with the old Dowse room.

It was formerly the custom of a few of the members, who were generally spoken of as "The Saints," to meet around the Dowse table near midday and talk over historical matters, at the same time discussing whatever was uppermost in their minds. In this group Mr. Winthrop was easily first in leading the informal conversation; and Dr. Ellis usually was present, together with Mr. Frothingham, Dr. Robbins, Mr. Deane, Mr. T. C. Amory, Dr. Shurtleff, Mr. Sabine, and others. A lofty staircase of two flights led up to the story where the main library and the Dowse room were situated. It required a man with a strong heart to reach the top without being blown.

I remember on one occasion when Dr. Holmes came puffing into the room, he suggested that the name of the Society be changed to the "High-story-cal." In making the ascent of the stairway I have counted the iron steps so often that their number, forty-nine, is now fixed indelibly in my memory. The building was in process of erection at the time of the great fire in November, 1872; and of the members who before that date came to the still older rooms on the same site, only six are now living.

Mr. Norcross exhibited two deeds of land in the towns of Bedford and Carlisle, dated in July and August, 1755, bearing "impressed" stamps of the value of fourpence and twopence required under "An Act for granting to his Majesty several duties upon vellum, parchment and paper, for two years, towards defraying the charges of this Government,"[1] passed January 8, 1755. This Act provides, beside other things, for a duty on every piece of vellum or parchment, sheet or piece of paper, "on which any deed or mortgage of any real estate, the consideration whereof shall be twenty pounds or more, shall be engrossed or written, fourpence"; and when the consideration shall be less than twenty pounds, twopence.

[1] Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay (Boston, 1878), iii. 793–796.

On March 14, 1755, Governor Shirley issued his proclamation publishing "s^d Marks & Stamps." The device of the fourpence stamp is described as "a Schooner under Sail," with the motto in the ring round it, "Steady, steady"; of the twopence as "a Cod Fish," with the motto "Staple of the Massachusetts"; of the threepence as "a Pine-Tree," with the motto "Province of the Massachusetts"; and of a halfpenny as "a Bird," with the words "Half Penny."[1] These deeds belong to the Bedford Free Public Library.

Mr. STANWOOD read the following paper:

A FORGOTTEN INCIDENT OF THE STATE RIGHTS CONTROVERSY.

The contest over the question of State rights was waged long and fiercely in the years before the Civil War. Great issues sometimes, trivial matters often, were the objects of controversy. Those who upheld the doctrine of the sovereignty of the States and the incompetence of the general government to go one step beyond the point allowed by the strictest construction of the "federal" — never the "national" — Constitution, were ever on the alert to discern and to rebuke trespass.

A case of their extraordinary sensitiveness which I fancy has been entirely forgotten, which certainly is not mentioned in any work on American political history with which I am familiar, may interest or at least amuse the members of the Society a few moments. I came across it in the course of a study of the apportionments of representatives among the several States, from the beginning of the government under the Constitution down to the present time.

Every one knows that the Constitution directs Congress to apportion representatives to the respective States in proportion to their population, and leaves to each State the privilege of regulating the times, places, and manner of their election. But it gives to Congress the right "to make or alter such regulations." In the early times there was not the least uniformity of election in any particular. Elections were held on many different days; sometimes the election lasted two or three days. In some States the *viva voce* system prevailed, in others the ballot. Some of the States were divided into single districts;

[1] Acts and Resolves, Massachusetts Bay (Boston, 1878), iii. 834.

others had single, double, and triple districts, in one case a district electing four members; still others elected all their members by a general ticket. Prior to the year 1842 Congress had never made or altered any regulation regarding the election of representatives, and whatever approach to uniformity had been made — very little, indeed — was merely the result of imitation and was dictated by no other motive than the convenience of a change of system.

It may or may not be within the knowledge of Americans generally that a corresponding liberty to the States to appoint the electors of President and Vice-President, originally resulting in a like diversity of system, gradually produced something very near to uniformity. When Madison was elected the first time in 1808, the Constitution then having been in force nearly twenty years, and five previous elections having been held, electors were chosen by the legislatures in seven States, by popular vote on general ticket in five, by popular vote in single districts in four, and by popular vote in two districts, each choosing four electors, in one. The demand of the people for the right to choose them directly steadily increased the number of States granting the choice by popular vote until in 1836 South Carolina alone made the appointment by the legislature. That State did not change its system until after the Civil War.

The adoption of the general ticket system proceeded at the same time, but did not become general until four years later, in 1840. In 1832 four of the States chose their electors by districts. New York gave twenty votes to Jackson and sixteen to Adams. The controlling reason for abandoning the district system need hardly be stated. Although New York gave a popular majority to Jackson, and its total vote was almost one fourth of the vote of the whole country, it gave but four effective electoral votes to Jackson out of a total of 261. At the next election it gave Jackson 42 votes on a popular majority of less than fourteen thousand.

It is easy to see that such a lesson as that would not be lost upon the hot partisans of the time when they came to consider the matter of electing representatives in Congress. A closely divided State might have but one or two effective votes in the organization of the House and in legislation upon the burning questions of the tariff, or internal improvements, or the

Bank, or the public land revenues. On the other hand, by adopting the general ticket system they might send a unanimous delegation to Washington. It is not surprising therefore to find that in Van Buren's time some of the States deliberately abandoned the district system, and the matter of doing the same thing was agitated and proposed in other States — some of them large States which would thus acquire undue and preponderating influence in one branch of Congress.

This was the situation in 1842, when Congress was to make a new apportionment under the Census of 1840. It was the first year of Tyler's administration, and the Whigs were in power. A section was put in the apportionment bill requiring that in every State entitled to more than one member election should be by single districts. This provision excited the most earnest, even violent, opposition, and the debates upon it in both Houses were long and angry. Every conceivable objection was made to it. Some States wished to be exempted from the operation of the clause so far as the next — the twenty-eighth — Congress was concerned, on the ground that the time of election was so near that it would be impossible to obey it without an extra session of the legislature. But they were all Democratic States, and the Whigs, warned by Democratic threats that they would repeal the section at the first opportunity, refused to exempt them and thus make easier the election of a Democratic House.

It was objected that the proposed law was not a regulation of the "times, places or manner" of the election and therefore was not within the power of Congress. Or — for this radical objection was not made by all the opponents — if it was apparently sanctioned by the Constitution, that instrument clearly intended that the States should make the regulations, and that Congress should "make" them only when the States, or any State, failed to do so, and should "alter" them only when the States made improper, unjust, or unfair regulations; as, for example, if they were to require that all elections in a State should be held within a single county.

One of the senators went so far as to maintain that the section was unconstitutional for this reason: that the representatives of a State were allotted to the State as a whole, and that therefore all the people of the State had a right to a voice in the election of all. He maintained, accordingly, that it was

an unconstitutional trespass upon the rights of the people when any State legislature adopted the district system, and restricted the right of individual citizens to a participation in the choice of one representative only. Although it was pointed out that Virginia was districted for the election of members to the first Congress, and that Washington and Madison, who were members of the Convention of 1787, probably knew something about the Constitution, the view of this senator found some support in both branches of Congress.

Among others who most strenuously opposed the section were two senators of very different mould and political character, — Silas Wright, of New York, and Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire. New York was entitled to forty members, who were chosen in thirty-three districts. New York City formed one district and chose four members, and there were four other double districts. A great stand was made upon a proposed amendment that it should not be required in any State that a city or county should be divided. But this, also, was voted down by the Whig majority. The twelve members elected in the double and quadruple districts of New York were ten Democrats and two Whigs. Then Mr. Wright put to the advocates of the section this poser. If you pass this measure and any State refuses to be bound by it, what will you do? The Constitution says you may make or alter these regulations. But you are not making a regulation. You are merely commanding the States to make a regulation. You may command, but you cannot compel, the States to obey. Any power which Congress has, it has the power to enforce. How will you enforce this? Will you send an army into a State and compel the governor to summon the legislature, and then will you force the legislature to pass a districting law? If you have the power to require members to be elected by single districts, — and Mr. Wright conceded the power, — you must carry out your purpose to the end and establish the districts. Suppose, then, a State refuses to obey your command to take action under this section; suppose that it continues to hold its elections by general ticket; and suppose that the members so chosen present themselves in the Hall of the House of Representatives at the beginning of the next Congress. Will the House refuse to receive them? Can it refuse? Is not the sovereign State entitled to a specified number of mem-

bers? Will the House dare to send them back to their constituents?

Of course this is a mere paraphrase of Mr. Wright's speech, but it presents faithfully the points that he made.

It is not necessary to report in detail the reply that was made to these points. Briefly, Mr. Wright was reminded that when Congress laid a direct tax, the authority to do which was found in the same clause of the Constitution as the provision for apportionment of representatives, the States were commanded to do something and were obliged to obey. Also, that if any State were to refuse to comply with a regulation which Congress had a right to make, it would thereby sacrifice the privilege of representation — that it would be its own act, and not the act of Congress. But the Whig senators were evidently not altogether sure that members elected on general ticket would encounter a refusal to allow them to take the oath.

Senator Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, was a good example of a stiff, uncompromising Democrat. He served notice on the Senate that as he believed the section under discussion to be unconstitutional and an invasion of the rights of the States, he should advise the people and the legislature of New Hampshire to disregard and disobey it. He vaguely intimated that he should like to see the next House of Representatives daring to refuse admission to New Hampshire members elected on general ticket in accordance with New Hampshire law. But neither Mr. Wright's arguments nor Mr. Woodbury's threats had any effect upon the Whig majority, and the apportionment bill contained the obnoxious section.

Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Alabama, of which three had previously elected by general ticket and three had multiple districts, all obeyed the law, and chose their members by single districts. New Hampshire, Georgia, Mississippi, and Missouri did not, but chose their representatives by general ticket. They returned 20 Democrats and 2 Whigs. The House as a whole was made up of 140 Democrats and 69 Whigs. When the members met for the first time in December, 1843, for organization, objection was made to the New Hampshire members as not having been duly elected. But the majority would not permit the

objection to be effective. They refused to allow the member who raised the objection to read his formal protest, and when a motion was made that he be permitted to read it, they interposed the point that the clerk of the previous House, who was presiding, had no right to put a motion to vote. So the protest was unheeded, the members from the four States were sworn in as though they had been elected in accordance with law, and nothing more was heard of their case. Georgia adopted the district system for the election to the twenty-ninth Congress, but the other three States adhered to the general ticket. For the thirtieth Congress all four of the States conformed to the law.

Mr. CLEMENT communicated a paper as follows:

A little paper written years ago by a lately deceased brother of mine[1] describing the rout of the battle of Bull Run as he saw it with the eyes of a boy and a boy's love of the marvellous seems to me to possess some value historically for the intimate, unconscious picturing, along with it, of the state of the public mind on the eve of the so-called "great uprising." It seems to illustrate well the truth that the great Civil War, as a war, was really a surprise, — to the people of the North at least; that the idea persisting up to the day of the battle of Bull Run at the back of the mind of everybody was that in some way the war-cloud would blow over, that the actual shock of contending armies and the pouring out of blood of citizens in civil war would be prevented or in some way avoided. The occasion of the trip to Washington, to carry dainties to a soldier brother, the occasion of the extension of the partly sight-seeing journey to the first battle-field of the great war, the commission from the horror-struck authorities at home to find and bring back from Virginia the body of the first Massachusetts soldier to fall, — all prove the naïveté of the popular conceptions at that time of what it was to enter upon war. This Chelsea boy,[2] whose body my brother was bidden by the mayor of their native place to recover and send home at all costs, was but the first of the fated host of three hundred and

[1] Andrew J. Clement, First Sergeant, Company M, First Massachusetts Cavalry, died at Morton, Pennsylvania, February 27, 1908.

[2] Philander Crowell, Company H, First Massachusetts Volunteers.

sixty thousand young men about to die for their country in the ensuing four years. I remember distinctly the consternation of the community when it was found that the Chelsea company of the First Massachusetts Infantry had been in the sharp action which was the first engagement in the approaching collision of the main armies, and that men had actually been shot and killed. The sickening realization was akin to that feeling my eldest brother[1] in that regiment had confessed to me when I was visiting him at the assembling and training camp at Readville and the new army wagons in their fresh blue paint and white canvas arrived on the scene in long array. "It looks as though we were really going," he remarked ruefully.

I find a pretty complete picture of the psychology of those bewildered and dreadful weeks and months in two speeches of Wendell Phillips in that series of wonderful orations in which he rode the storm seeking to direct it to great issues. Some of these speeches I had the fortune to hear. I have been looking up certain things I heard delivered in that deliberate utterance of his with its polished periods, precise and penetrating as rifle-shots, yet freighted with passion, white-hot with intense conviction. It is only necessary to compare these two speeches of Phillips's to show how men's minds tossed and turned and agonized in those days, — the minds of honest, independent, fearless, conscientious men, too. In a speech of April 9, 1861, at New Bedford, Wendell Phillips was in Cassandra vein. Besides many other epigrammatic deliverances to similar effect, he said:

> Inaugurate war, we know not where it will end; we are in no condition to fight. The South is poor; we are rich. The poor man can do twice the injury to the rich man that the rich man can do to the poor. War will start up every man whose livelihood hangs upon trade, intensifying him into a compromiser. Those guns fired on Fort Sumter are only to frighten the North into a compromise. If the Administration provokes war it is a trick, — nothing else. It is the masterly cunning of that devil of compromise, the Secretary of State. He is not mad enough to let the States run into battle. He knows that the age of bullets is over. If a gun is fired in Southern waters it is fired at the wharves of New York, at the bank-vaults of Boston, at the money of the North. It is meant to alarm. It is policy, not sincerity.

[1] William B. Clement, Company H, died at Chelsea, July 18, 1896.

Thus in New Bedford, April 9; and no wonder that the local reporter records that the lecture was interrupted with frequent hisses. Twelve days later, on a Sunday, April 21, the same day that Fletcher Webster addressed an out-door meeting in State Street, speaking from the Old State House balcony, Phillips addressed an excited, crowded meeting in Music Hall. That day Phillips was the prophet militant. He began by saying that he gave this war a welcome "hearty and hot." He would not recant or retract anything, he said; he needed everything he had been saying to justify so momentous an evil as civil war.

I rejoice before God to-day for every word that I have spoken counselling peace; but I rejoice also with an especially profound gratitude, that now, the first time in my anti-slavery life, I speak under the stars and stripes, and welcome the tread of Massachusetts men marshalled for war. No matter what the past has been or said; to-day the slave asks God for a sight of this banner, and counts it the pledge of his redemption. Hitherto it may have meant what you thought, or what I did; to-day it represents sovereignty and justice. The only mistake that I have made was in supposing Massachusetts wholly choked with cotton-dust and cankered with gold. The South thought her patience and generous willingness for peace were cowardice; to-day shows the mistake. . . .

All winter long I have acted with that party which cried for peace. The anti-slavery enterprise to which I belong started with peace written on its banner. We imagined that the age of bullets was over; that the age of ideas had come; . . . The South opened this [door to the solution] with cannon-shot, and Lincoln shows himself at the door. The war, then, is not aggressive, but in self-defence, and Washington has become the Thermopylæ of Liberty and Justice. Rather than surrender that Capital, cover every square foot of it with a living body; crowd it with a million of men, and empty every bank vault at the North to pay the cost.[1]

This speech was surely worth thousands of men to the government, but such is the constitutional cowardice of professional managing politicians that those of that day thought it prudent, for the sake of winning over to loyalty the so-called War Democrats, to have the speech suppressed, and all the docile daily papers did suppress it. It was circulated to the number of a hundred thousand as a supplement extra of the weekly called

[1] W. Phillips, Speeches (Boston, 1884), 396–400.

"The Anglo-African." Even so late as October of that year the Republican State Convention, according to an exultant editorial of the "Boston Daily Advertiser," "certainly disavowed any intention of endorsing the fatal doctrines announced by Mr. Sumner in that convention," and also buried Rev. James Freeman Clarke's resolution in favor of freeing the slaves, as the esteemed contemporary of that day predicted, "never to rise again." By another year the Emancipation proclamation had issued, and three months later Massachusetts idealists speaking through Wendell Phillips could say: "A blundering and corrupt cabinet has made it at last an inevitable necessity, — Liberty or Death. The cowardice of Webster's followers in the cabinet has turned his empty rhetoric into solemn truth; and now honest men are not only at liberty, but bound to live and die under his motto, — 'Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.'" The country's baffling search to find its ground, its rising determination to yield thus far and no farther, the stand taken at last, the great defeat that first befell, the high idealism, the spirit of the hour, — all are seen in the brief, intimate account written for the family circle at home of the experiences and feelings of one representative Boston youth of twenty, soon after to be a full-fledged three years' man, a hero who rode in the First Massachusetts Cavalry from Virginia to Florida and back again.

"The First Massachusetts Infantry was the first regiment to leave the State for three years' service in the national cause; and, indeed, is said to have been the first three years' regiment in the service of the United States." To the call from the War Department of May 8, 1861, for volunteers for three years, "the First Regiment immediately and unanimously responded," though the other regiments which had gone from the State were enlisted for three months only. The First left Boston on June 15, 1861, and reached Washington on the 18th, and the next day marched, with the temperature at 90°, to a camp beyond Georgetown and was at once put under strictly military discipline, being there in the enemy's country. It was not till July 16 that the regiment marched into Virginia with three other regiments, and the next night bivouacked at Centreville.

The battle of Blackburn's Ford, July 18, in which the Chelsea soldiers fell, was an affair of outposts, resulting from

General McDowell's purpose to "feel of the enemy." It was begun by shots from the Rebels posted in the woods bordering Bull Run. Both sides were soon at work with artillery. Companies G and H of the First Regiment had advanced through a gully, or dry ravine, leading into Bull Run, until they found themselves exposed to a murderous fire from three different directions. For at least half an hour they remained in this position unable to advance or retreat. The New York Twelfth on their flank fell back, and a general retrograde movement soon followed, with a stand taken at Centreville. The only valuable result of the reconnoissance was the bringing under fire for the first time of some thousands of raw troops. Thirteen men of the First Regiment were killed, and as many more wounded and taken prisoners. Rev. Warren H. Cudworth, chaplain of the regiment, published in 1866 a very full and lively history of its operations.

The Bull-Run Musket.

A single dead soldier of the Union army was an object of intense public interest up to the date of the battle of Bull Run in July, 1861.

There were two lads of us who left Boston to visit our brothers — both of whom were in the army and in the same company. We expected to find the Army at Washington; and we each carried a box of dainties to delight our brothers with. On reaching Washington, we were sorely disappointed to find that the army had started on its march to Richmond; and that no civilians were allowed to follow — not even to cross the Potomac into Virginia. So there was nothing to do but see the sights in Washington and return to our homes. But we had been there only two days when the news came of a fight or skirmish on July 18th at Blackburn's Ford, where several were killed, and one of the dead was the brother of my companion. It was a terrible blow to my friend, and a great shock for me.

We immediately telegraphed home, and at once came the reply "Get the body, if you can, and send it home." Well, we two lads went to the War Department and I suppose our sorrowful tale moved them with compassion, for they gave each of us a pass to go to the front to get the body of the dead soldier. I've got that pass stowed away now, among my papers, as a War curiosity. It reads,

Allow the bearer, Mr. Andrew J. Clement, to pass the lines and go to the Front for the body of a friend.

Drake De Kay
Aid de Camp.

Later in the war, the death of a soldier was of too little importance to awaken such sympathy at Headquarters. Indeed, two days later, there were thousands killed within two miles of the spot where those killed in this skirmish were buried. After much difficulty, we hired a light wagon in which my friend rode, while I got a seat in an army wagon that was taking out supplies. It was just midnight on Saturday July 20th when we started from Willard's Hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue. There was a full moon, and the night was lovely. I was all excitement. I was going to join the army. I should see my brother, and perhaps I should see the big battle everybody was talking about as soon to be fought.

Well, I saw all that I expected to see and a good deal more. As the horses toiled painfully all that night over the rough and hilly roads. I little thought that on the very next night I should be more painfully trudging back over that very route footsore and weary, a gun on my shoulder — and ready to fight if the victorious enemy came up with us. Yet such was the case, and the gun in the hall is the one that I carried to Washington after the battle of Bull Run, July 21st, 1861.

Of course the ride that beautiful night was too exciting for sleep. It was just after daybreak, when we were taking a hasty breakfast at a small tavern, that we heard the first boom of a heavy gun. This was the gun that opened the great battle of Bull Run. We were yet six miles away from the army — and all were impatient to reach our destination. The horses were kept at their best working pace, and when we had gone three miles we met troops marching towards us, These were certain regiments that would n't fight because the ninety days of their term of service had just expired. They looked thoroughly ashamed of themselves, and marched in great disorder. The officer with our wagon, and the soldier who drove it, both scoffed at them and called them sneaks and cowards; and, cowards as they were, they did n't resent the insults. For myself, I felt as though they all deserved shooting when they got to Washington.

An hour later we reached Centreville and looked down on the battle-field. Hastily finding where my friend's dead brother was buried, I left him to his mournful task of recovering the corpse while I went to find my own brother whom I yet hoped to meet alive. But it was n't an easy task. The line of battle was long; and, in spite of my inquiries, I went wrong. I went to the right wing only to find that the regiment I sought was probably away off on the left wing. Nobody seemed able to give exact information, and everybody wanted to know what a boy in black clothes and a straw hat was doing on the battle-field. Once I went up and sat down in the rear of a battery of light artillery to watch the effect of the firing, and the Capt. drove me off with terrible oaths. But I went around a small farm house and crept

back again, and saw the grapeshot scatter the "rebs." And so I went on from point to point, staring and asking questions, and being stared at and questioned in return. At length I learned that the regiment I wanted was at the extreme left. So off I started, already weary from loss of sleep, excitement and tramping under the hot sun.

Arriving at the left, I again was attracted by a battery in action, and it was while I stood entranced with excitement that my brother discovered me. His regiment was lying in the bush close by supporting this very battery. Never was a man more surprised than was he at that moment. He supposed I was at home in Boston. But, before he would talk, he made me go into the woods and lie down with the soldiers so as to be in less danger. And there I crawled around and shook hands with nearly a hundred men whom I had known all my life. Many were the questions I answered, and scores of messages were given me to take home to parents and friends. The boys seemed very sad — for a member had been killed in this company only three days before, and they expected to be actively fighting again at any moment. At length my brother insisted that I should go back to Centreville out of danger, and I started with a heavy heart. But secretly I resolved to try to go to Richmond with the army, for I felt sure it would only take a few days. Up to that time it seemed to be victory for us; and I did n't believe it could possibly be otherwise. So I went back to Centreville. I was very hungry as well as tired. It was now past four o'clock in the afternoon.

I soon found a group of sick officers who were about to dine off of boiled beef close by the army wagon in which I had come from Washington. They asked me to join them. I had just got fairly seated when the astounding news came that our army was defeated and was retreating. I did n't believe it; but I rushed to the hilltop to see for myself. Down there on the plain, where I had been in the morning, there was certainly much dust and confusion. Just then fresh troops, the reserves, started to go down, but even to my inexperienced eye it was plain that they went in bad order and went too late. It was there that I saw the general who wore two hats — one crushed over the other — and who was reported in newspaper accounts of the scene as being very drunk that day. He certainly appeared decidedly drunk at that moment.

Wild with excitement, I rushed down hill too; but long before I got where I had been a few hours before, I met the rush of panic stricken men coming pell-mell from the field. To resist this rush was impossible and worse than useless. Wagons driven at full speed came with the men. Shouted curses filled the air. Wagons broke down, and, cutting the harnesses, men mounted the horses and rode off toward Centreville. Muskets were thrown away and filled the road for a long distance. It

was there that I picked up my gun, begged a pocket full of ammunition, and resolved to do my share when the terrible Black Horse Cavalry reached us — for it was reported that they were coming at full speed. Ere long I reached Centreville again, and left the rush to look for my wagon. It had gone, long before, in the grand stampede for Washington. That didn't worry me much then — I thought I would find my brother again; and fight in company with the boys I grew up with. So I waited and waited at Centreville till the sun got low. I saw at length that it would be useless to try to find anybody. There were several roads; and all were full of disorganized troops.

But the first mad rush was over. *All* the army did not run. *I* did not run a step. It was nearly sunset when I left Centreville; and, as I was terribly hungry, I stopped, after going about a mile, and joined two of N. Y. 69th regiment who were having a regular feast out of a broken down and abandoned sutler's wagon. I remember that I ate a whole can of roast chicken and many sweet biscuits, and washed the whole down with some sherry wine drank from the bottle — my first experience in wine drinking.

Much refreshed, I took up my musket and started for Washington with an oddly mixed crowd of gay militia uniforms representing parts of many regiments. Yet there were still behind us good, orderly, full regiments, that stayed in Centreville till after midnight and came into Washington late the next day in fine marching order. *They* did not run, and my brother's regiment was one of them. It was 10 P. M. when I reached Fairfax Court House. There I rested, sitting on a rail fence, as a motley crowd poured by, each squad saying that the Black Horse Cavalry was coming. So I clung to my musket, though my shoulders began to get a little sore. It was after midnight when I started again. The night was very dark, for heavy clouds obscured the moon. The road, very rough in itself, was now full of materials thrown out of wagons. There were shovels, pickaxes, boxes, barrels, iron mess-kettles, muskets, knapsacks, and all sorts of litter that soldiers could throw away, and over these and the loose stones of the rough road we stumbled in the dark, amid choking dust, and up and down the long rolling hills that the army marched over so often afterwards during that terrible war. Still, I well remember that it seemed to me a sort of wild picnic; and I would clutch my gun and feel of my cartridges in a very determined mood to defend Washington to the death.

Wearily the night wore on; and steadily I tramped, talking in the dark, from time to time, with strangers — men from all parts of the Union whom I did n't see then and probably never saw afterwards. Bad as it was to march in the dust, it was still worse when it began to rain just before daybreak. Gently it came at first; and slowly

the dust became a thick paste of slippery mud. Steadily the storm increased till it became a downpour. I had on a thin black summer suit, a straw hat, and a pair of low cut thin shoes and white stockings. When day broke we were a bedraggled, thoroughly soaked, mud-stained party. Of all that vast crowd probably I presented the worst appearance, for I was the only citizen in that section of the crowd. I bantered jokes with such as were in joking mood, but most of the crowd were now silent and weary. All along the road lay men asleep in the pouring rain. There were blood blisters on my feet, but never once did I stop except to get a drink of water at a brook just after daylight. The rain now fell in torrents; we were literally wading in mud and water.

The thirty miles from Centreville to Washington seemed three times that distance. My gun grew more and more heavy, and I shifted it constantly. It was about ten o'clock Monday forenoon when I reached the Virginia end of Long Bridge. A strong guard was posted there to stop the troops; for Washington was already full of fugitive soldiers. Forcing my way through a vast mob of shouting, cursing soldiers, I reached the officer in charge, and got a rough reception. First he doubted my pass; next he wanted to take away my musket, but I protested that I had saved it from the enemy; and at length he allowed me to pass carrying the gun I had so honestly won. I went down Pennsylvania Avenue much stared at as I limped along. Reaching my hotel, I took a bath and turned into a good bed, thinking of my brother and the thousands of other soldiers who were out in the rain and many of whom would perhaps have no bed to turn into for three years; for there were a few three years regiments even then.

The next day, to my great joy, my brother's regiment marched in and over to Georgetown heights; and, after visiting them there, I sent my gun home by Adams Ex. and took the train for Boston. Said my father, when I got home, "Well, I think you have got enough of war now." "No, sir," I said, and in less than thirty days I had enlisted; and three years from the date of the first battle of Bull Run I was skirmishing about six miles from Richmond — three years — and yet I had n't quite got to Richmond.

That Bull-Run musket is the only war weapon left in the family, and I hope you will keep it in memory of the good work I was willing to do with it even before I was a soldier.

Dr. GREEN then said:

I have listened with intense interest to Mr. Clement's paper, as I was not only present at the skirmish therein described, but as Assistant Surgeon of the First Massachusetts

Volunteers it was my professional duty to look after the wounded on that occasion. I remember vividly the events of that day, July 18, 1861, not only because it was the first time that I ever was under fire, but because it was the greatest fight that up to that time the Union army had fought. I remember, too, the proud record made by the First Massachusetts in that preliminary skirmish. In each of two companies, — G and H, — the regiment lost six men; and Company H — to which Mr. Clement's paper relates — had more men wounded than killed. Nor were these the only losses met by the Old First in that memorable action. The wounded men came under my professional charge, and they received such care as could be given them on the field of battle, scanty though it was. The men who fell in that skirmish — some of them my friends and all my acquaintances — and the scenes of that day left impressions on my mind so deep that I have since accepted without hesitation the fact that "war is hell." This action of July 18 was only a skirmish that preceded the first battle of Bull Run, which was fought three days later on July 21. The armies contending on that day were commanded, respectively, by General McDowell and General Beauregard; and the result is now a matter of history.

As an instance of the changes which the whirligig of time brings round, I will relate a fact that is purely personal. In December, 1878, I was appointed a member of the Commission authorized by Congress to investigate the Yellow Fever Epidemic of that year, and sessions were held in several southern cities, including New Orleans. While the Commission was in session in that city, General Beauregard was a regular attendant at the meetings, and for some days I was thrown much with him, and we talked over together the campaign of 1861. In answer to one of my questions, why the southern army did not follow up their victory and capture the city of Washington, he replied that President Davis was strongly of the opinion that such an event would produce a revulsion of feeling on the part of northern sympathizers with the South and thus would defeat their own purpose.

A few years later, in the summer of 1883, I was a member of the Board of Visitors appointed by the President to make the annual examination at Annapolis, Maryland, where I was thrown into intimate relations with General McDowell, also

a member of the visiting Board. I slept under the same roof with him and ate at the same table, and often we discussed military matters. These two episodes in my life are now pleasant events to remember.

I was deeply impressed with General McDowell's strict abstinence from the use of champagne and other alcoholic liquors. Receiving his early education in France, one would suppose that, like the French boys who were his companions, he would drink Bordeaux wine as freely as milk; but he told me that never in Europe or here was he in the habit of taking anything stronger than water. In my intercourse with him for a week I saw nothing in his life to disprove this statement.

Mr. RHODES said:

The reports in circulation after the Battle of Bull Run, regarding McDowell, are an instance of the hasty and uncharitable judgment of newspapers and their readers. It was at once said that the Union defeat was due to McDowell's intoxication. As a matter of fact McDowell never in his life drank a drop of beer, wine, or any alcoholic beverage, and curiously enough too did not use tobacco in any form. The proof of this is undoubted, but as part of it I may mention the positive assurances of Dr. William H. Russell, the American correspondent of the London Times, sometimes spoken of as "Bull-Run Russell," who knew McDowell well and saw him on the day of the battle, and of Colonel Franklin Haven, who served on his staff during the war. Dr. Russell told me that on the morning of the battle McDowell ate watermelon for breakfast, and the free indulgence in this succulent fruit made him ill, which was the sole foundation for the cruel report.[1]

JONATHAN SMITH communicated the following:

The letter read by Mr. Clement forcibly reminds me of what I saw and experienced, as a private soldier, on the retreat of the army from the battlefield of the second Bull Run

[1] Since my statement our associate Barrett Wendell has communicated to me this information: "Edmund Clarence Stedman, who was present at Bull Run as a reporter, told me that on the night before the battle McDowell, hungry after his preparation, was served at his supper with canned fruit, — I think peaches, — and ate heartily of them. The fruit was probably tainted and brought on an attack of cholera morbus, from which Stedman saw him acutely suffering while the battle was in progress." I have no doubt that this is a more accurate version than Russell's.

on the night of August 30, 1862. My regiment, the Sixth New Hampshire, was driven from the field about dark on the last day of the fight. Its last position had been in some thick pine bushes in the rear of the Henry house. In getting out, owing to the darkness and thick underbrush, the men became separated and did not get together again until the next morning at Centreville. Each man made his way to the rear as best he could. The night was very dark and the rain was falling. The road was crowded with soldiers, with such of the wounded as could walk, with ambulances, army wagons, and sections of batteries. There was confusion but absolutely no panic, and no feeling of fright or alarm among the men, though it was reported that Confederates were pursuing. The crowd marched leisurely, there was much laughing and telling stories and incidents of the fight, as was usual among the men on a march.

We did not reach Centreville until one o'clock in the morning, being more than four hours covering a distance of about five miles. Nor was there the slightest exhibition of panic or fright among the men the next day when the army was camped in and about Centreville. There was free expression of bitterness and disappointment at the result of the fight, and while regiments and brigades were much broken up and disorganized, the army would have fought off an attack by the Confederates as resolutely as if it had just won a victory. That the men were neither panic-stricken nor demoralized by their defeat was well shown by the courage and steadiness with which they beat off Jackson's attempt to cut us off by getting into our rear at Chantilly, on September 1. Some of the divisions fighting this battle had been badly cut up at Bull Run, but on no field did the men show better discipline and courage than in the battle of September 1. The campaigns on the peninsula and in front of Washington that summer had transformed the raw volunteers of July, 1861, into veteran soldiers.

Speaking of General McDowell, I am reminded that when we got back to Washington, about September 5, 1862, it was currently reported among us that the second battle of Bull Run had been lost through the cowardice or treachery of Generals McDowell and Porter. The rank and file believed these reports, and I doubt, so great was the anger of the men in Reno's division, whether their lives would have been safe

from violence if those generals had ventured among them. How it was in other divisions I cannot say. A subsequent knowledge of the facts, however, shows how unjust these camp rumors were.

Mr. MATTHEWS made the following remarks:

As members of an historical society, we are probably inclined to be sceptical in regard to family traditions; and no doubt rightly so, for in many if not in most cases they are unreliable. Yet if such traditions are too readily accepted by members of the families in which they are handed down, it is also true that we must be on our guard against going to the other extreme; for occasionally such a tradition, in itself almost unbelievable, turns out to be based on fact. Let me mention what I think are the two most remarkable cases that have come under my notice.

Ten years ago the late Rev. Dr. James D. Butler, of Madison, Wisconsin, wrote to "The Nation":

> There is an old tradition in my family that J. B., an ancestor born at Boston in 1665, would never eat roast pork, and gave as the reason for his dislike that its odor brought back to him a sickening whiff of wind from a woman he had seen burned alive at the stake on the Common when he was a 'prentice boy. This story I heard in the twenties — perhaps as early as 1820 — at the table of my father, who in 1770 was old enough to have heard and understood it, if told by his grandfather, whose birth was 1713, and who was himself the grandson of the J. B., the original eye-witness of the tragedy on the Common.[1]

For three quarters of a century Dr. Butler vainly sought for confirmation of this tradition, and not until 1899 did he succeed. On September 22, 1681, according to Increase Mather, a negress named Maria was burned to death.[2] Though Mr. John Noble has sought to show[3] that Maria was not actually burned alive, having first been strangled, I am myself unable to see why the sentence was not literally carried out; but even if the point made by Mr. Noble is well taken, there can be no doubt that her body at least was burned. Thus after a lapse of

[1] The Nation, lxix. 187; also 296, 390, 409.
[2] 1 Proceedings, iii. 320.
[3] Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, vi. 323-336.

more than two centuries the tradition in the Butler family was confirmed.

My second case is perhaps not so striking as the above, yet is well worth recording. In June, 1888, a correspondent wrote to the "Magazine of American History" from Chicago:

In the year 1846, while briefly stopping at a hotel in Toledo, Ohio, I made some acquaintance with an old gentleman of very respectable appearance, a Mr. Piatt, who with his son was on his way toward his home at Covington (on the Wabash, as I supposed, yet possibly the Covington opposite Cincinnati, Ohio). In our conversation he informed me that his father's family lived near where Lieutenant Boyd was killed (in Sullivan's campaign), and that Murphy, an Indian fighter of some note, was well known by his father's family, and upon one occasion was chased by an Indian so near the American post, that a soldier fired and killed the red-skin. Some one whose name I have forgotten offered a certain sum to any person who would take off the skin of the Indian's legs sufficient for a pair of boot-legs, which offer was accepted and the work done. Mr. Piatt, when a small boy, often heard the circumstances spoken of, and remembers well seeing the boot-legs more than once; they had been nicely tanned in Philadelphia, he believed; it was in 1792 when he last saw them. The possessor valued them highly, and said he trusted they would be kept in his family as a trophy and memorial of the period. Mr. Piatt said that he himself did service in the West, in the war of 1812.[1]

Sullivan's campaign took place in 1779. This story was told by Mr. Piatt, who spoke from childish recollection, to a casual acquaintance in 1846, or sixty-seven years after the alleged occurrence of the incident, and the gentleman to whom it was narrated allowed forty-two years more to go by before recording it. Surely, it will be said, we have here every chance of error. Yet, though inaccurate in some of its details, this story, extraordinary and incredible as it may seem, can be proved to be substantially correct. The defeat of the Indians at Newtown (now Elmira) took place August 29, 1779, and on the following day Lieutenant William Barton made this entry in his journal:

At the request of Major Piatt, sent out a small party to look for some of the dead Indians — returned without finding them. Toward noon

[1] Magazine of American History, August, 1888, xx. 156.

they found them and skinned two of them from their hips down for boot legs; one pair for the Major the other for myself.[1]

The Major Piatt alluded to was Major Daniel Piatt, of New Jersey. On August 31 Sergeant Thomas Roberts wrote:

this morning Our trupes found 2 Indians and Skin thear Legs & Drest them for Leggins.[2]

Whether, as stated by the narrator of the story, the skinning was done by Murphy, cannot be ascertained; but Murphy certainly served in the campaign. On September 13 Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Hubley wrote:

This Murphy is a noted marksman, and a great soldier, he having killed and scalped that morning, in the town they were at, an Indian, which makes the three and thirtieth man of the enemy he has killed, as is well known to his officers, this war.[3]

The Lieutenant Thomas Boyd mentioned by the narrator was taken prisoner by the Indians on September 13 and cruelly tortured to death. On September 14 Major John Burrowes wrote:

Here we find Lieut. Boyd and one of the men laying on the ground just on the edge of the town, and so inhumanly murdered it is almost too much to describe. Their heads were cut off and scalpt. They had been whipped horribly. Their bodies speared all over and Lieut. Boyd partly skinned. Such is the barbarity of these savage villains.[4]

Acts of atrocity when committed by Indians are characterized as the "barbarity of these savage villains," but when perpetrated by American officers and soldiers are too often passed over in silence. One cannot but be pained by perusal of the volume from which the above extracts are taken, for, in addition to the destruction of the houses and crops of the Indians — a destruction which perhaps was necessitated by the exigencies of war — it shows a wanton cruelty on the part of the Americans unpleasant to contemplate. After the lapse of more than a century and a quarter, it ought to be possible for American historians to take an impartial view and not blink the fact that deeds of barbarism were by no means confined to one side in our Revolutionary War.[5]

[1] Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians (Auburn, N. Y., 1887), 8; [2] 244; [3] 162; [4] 48.

[5] Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, vii. 275–278.

Dr. GREEN read a paper on

SLAVERY AT GROTON IN PROVINCIAL TIMES.

During a long period before the Revolution, like other towns in the Province, Groton had one element in her population which does not now exist, and which to-day has disappeared from almost the whole civilized world. At the beginning of the year 1755 there were fourteen negro slaves in town, seven men and seven women, who were sixteen years old or upward. At that time Townsend had three slaves, two men and one woman; Shirley had one, a man; and Pepperell made no return of having any. Westford had five slaves, but the sex is not given. These facts are gathered from a census of negro slaves, ordered by the public authorities, and printed in the Collections (second series, III. 95–97) of this Society.

In a record book, bound in parchment, now in the office of the clerk of the Middlesex Court at East Cambridge, is the following entry:

GROTON Decem^{r} 21 / 1719

These may Certifie to whome it may Concern, That William Banks of Groton, and Hannah Wansamug late of Lancaster both in y^{e} County of Midd^{x} were Joyned in marriage the 21st day of Decem^{r} 1719/ at Groton

p^{r} FRA: FULLAM *Justice of Peace.*

(IV. 194)

William appears to have been a slave belonging to Eleazer Robbins, of Groton, and Hannah was an Indian, belonging to the Natick tribe, and is called in the records "late of Lancaster"; but unfortunately the marriage was not a happy one. With trusting confidence in her husband, the wife bought his freedom, when he proved false to his plight and promise, and deserted her. The story, told in her own words, is found in the Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives (p. 39), June 13, 1724, as follows:

A Petition of *Hannah Banks* Indian, shewing that she bought of *Eleazer Robbins* of *Groton* his Servant Man's Time, and gave a Bond of *l.* 15 for Payment of the same, that afterwards she married the said Servant Man, who is since absconded, and the said *Robbins* hath put the said Bond in Suit, and cast the Petitioner into Prison in *Boston*, that the Principal Debt with the Charges hath arisen to *l.* 25 which Mr. *Edward Ruggles* of *Roxbury* hath paid for her, praying this Court

would please to enable the said *Edward Ruggles* to Sell such a part of her Land in *Natick*, as will satisfy him for his advance of said Twenty Five Pounds.

Read and committed to the Committee for Petitions.

Mr. Charles E. Goodspeed has given me a bill of sale of a negro slave that was sold more than one hundred and eighty years ago. At that period such sales were not uncommon here, but to-day it seems beyond the bounds of belief that transactions in human traffic should take place in a civilized community. The contrasts of life and the various modes of living as seen at different epochs of time show that "the sun do move," as John Jasper says. The buyer of the boy as well as the seller both were pillars of the church, and in this matter they saw no inconsistency between their deeds and their professions. "Thus the whirligig of Time brings in his revenges." The bill of sale is as follows:

Know All men by these presents That I Benjamin Bancraft of Charlestown in the County of Middlesex in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Tanner for & in Consideration of the Sum of ninty five Pounds in Good Bills of Publick Credit To me in hand paid before the Insealing & Delivery hereof by William Lawrance of Groton in y^e^ County and Province afores^d^ Black-Smith The Receipt whereof to full content & Satisfaction I Do hereby acknowledge Have, and by these presents Do Bargain Sell Assign Set over & Deliver unto the Said William Lawrance one Negro Boy aged about Thirteen years — Named Bodee To Have & To Hold the Said Negro Boy unto the Said William Lawrance his heirs Executors Administrators an^d^ assigns To his & their only proper use and behoofe forever. And I the Said Benjamin Bancraft for my Selfe my heirs Executors & Administrators Do covenant promise and agree to & with the Said Lawrance his heirs Executors Administrators and assigns To Warrant and Defend y^e^ Said Negro To him & them forever by these presents, against the Lawfull Claims & Demands of all & every person or persons Whomsoever In witness whereof togather with y^e^ Delivery of said Negro Boy I have hereunto Set my hand & seal y^e^ Tenth Day of July Anno Dom^i^ 1728. In y^e^ Second Year of his Majesties Reign

BENJAMIN BANCROFT SEAL

Signed Sealed & Delivered
In presence of
IACOB AMES
ROBERT BLOOD

The following advertisement, not an unusual one for that period, appears in "The Boston Evening-Post," July 30, 1739:

RAN away from his Master, Mr. John Woods *of* Groton, *on Thursday the* 12*th of this Instant* July, *a Negro Man Servant named* Cæsar, *about* 22 *Years of Age, a pretty short well sett Fellow. He carried with him a Blue Coat and Jacket, a pair of Tow Breeches, a Castor Hat, Stockings and Shoes of* his own, *and a Blue Cloth Coat with flower'd Metal Buttons, a white flower'd Jacket, a good Bever Hat, a Gray Wigg, and a pair of new Shoes of* his Master's, *with some other Things. It is suspected there is some white Person that may be with him, or design to make Use of his* Master's Apparel *above described.*

Whoever shall take up the said Servant, and bring him to his abovesaid Master in Groton, *or be a Means of convicting any Person or Confederate with said Servant as above suspected, shall have* Five Pounds *Reward for each of them, and all necessary Charges paid.*

The following marriage is entered in the church records under the date of December 28, 1742, "Priamus (Cap^{t} Boydens Negro man servant [)] to Marg^{t} Molatto formerly servant to S. S. both of Groton." It is also recorded that Margaret, the servant of Samuel Scripture, Jr., was baptized on January 30, 1733–4, and that she owned the covenant at the same time. The last entry shows that the initials stand for Samuel Scripture, Jr. This negro couple was afterward blessed with a family of children, and they lived on the west side of the Nashua River, a short distance north of the Great Road to Townsend. His surname was Lew or Lue, and his given name became contracted into Primus, a very common name among the blacks; and to this day the rise of ground, near the place where the Pepperell road leaves the Great Road, is known as Primus Hill, so called after him. Mr. Butler, the historian of the town, thinks that perhaps Margaret's other name was also Lew. (See his History, p. 454.) Their eldest child, — Zelah, a corruption of Barzillai, — born at Groton on November 5, 1743, was a famous musician, who lived at Chelmsford and Dracut, and was the father of numerous children who also were musicians. He was a fifer in Captain John Ford's company of the 27th Massachusetts Regiment in service at the siege of Boston, and was present at the Battle of Bunker Hill. See "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War" (IX. 725), for an account of his services.

About the year 1740 there was a negro slave in Groton by the name of Boad, who used to look after the cattle sent up to Groton Gore in the spring to be pastured during the summer. In the summer of 1735 the Province of Massachusetts Bay made a grant of land to the proprietors of Groton, which became known as the Groton Gore. This territory comes now wholly within the State of New Hampshire, lying mostly in Mason, but partly in Brookline, Wilton, Milford, and Greenville. In speaking of this tract of land Mr. John Boynton Hill, in his "History of the Town of Mason, N. H.," says:

> Under this grant, the inhabitants of Groton took possession of, and occupied the territory. It was their custom to cut the hay upon the meadows, and stack it, and early in the spring to send up their young cattle to be fed upon the hay, under care of Boad, the negro slave. They would cause the woods to be fired, as it was called, that is, burnt over in the spring; after which fresh and succulent herbage springing up, furnished good store of the finest feed, upon which the cattle would thrive and fatten through the season. Boad's camp was upon the east side of the meadow, near the residence of the late Joel Ames (p. 26).

Undoubtedly Boad, mentioned in this paragraph, is the same slave who, under the name of Bodee, was sold by Benjamin Bancroft to William Lawrence. Among the marriages in the church records of the town, under the date of February 5, 1750–51, the following entry is found, — "Bode to By"; and at that time this probably was considered a sufficient record for the marriage of an enslaved couple. In the year 1751 Abraham Moors owned a slave named Zebina; and she probably was the bride on the occasion.

"The Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal," June 13, 1774, has a notice as follows:

Ten Dollars Reward.

RAN AWAY from the Subscriber, *Joseph Moors*, of Groton, in the County of Middlesex, and Province of Massachusetts-Bay, a Molatto Man Servant, named TITUS, about 20 Years of Age, of a midling Statue, wears short curl'd Hair, has one of his Fore-Teeth broke out, took with him a blue Surdan, a Snuff-coloured Coat, and a Pair of white wash'd Leather Breeches, a Pair of new Cow-Hide Pumps and a Furr'd Hat with large Brims, and sundry other Articles of Wearing Apparel.

—— Whoever will take up said Servant and confine him in any of his Majesty's Goals, so that the Owner may have him again, shall have TEN DOLLARS Reward and all necessary Charges paid, by

JOSEPH MOORS.

☞ *All Masters of Vessels and others, are hereby Caution'd against Harbouring, Concealing, or carrying off said Servant, as they would thereby avoid the Penalty of the Law.*

An extract from the town records refers to the birth of Titus, who is here advertised as a runaway by Joseph Moors, a son of Abraham Moors, the former owner of the slave mother. The entry is as follows:

Titus, a molato boy born of Zebinah, a negro slave to Mr Abraham Moors, March , 1751.

Charlestown Edes, a slave belonging to Isaiah Edes, of Groton, served as a soldier in the Revolutionary army. See "Groton during the Revolution" (p. 171). Among the papers now in the possession of the town clerk, are the following:

Charlston Eads Soldier in the Lieut Colo Company In the 15th Massachusetts Regiment having Sarvd Five months and Two days is hearby Dischargd from Said Regiment agreable to General Orders of Yesterday

Given under my hand at Westpoint
this third day of December 1780

TIMO BIGELOW *Col.*

Groton march ye 21st 1781 Sir Pay my Wages to my Master Isaiah Edes and you will Oblidge yrs

His
Test CHARLESTOWN × EDES
ISAAC FARNSWORTH mark

Akin to the subject of slavery in the town is the following item from "The Groton Landmark," November 14, 1885:

Gov. Boutwell has in an old scrap-book the following interesting Memorandum:

August, 1856.

Noah Shattuck, esq., informs me that there were eleven slaves in Groton when slavery was abolished, and he mentioned the following names: Chloe Williams, Phillis Cutler [Cutter?], Phillis Sartell, Ichabod Davis, Fanny Boyden and William Case. Phineas Wait also owned one slave.

Noah Shattuck, a son of Job and Sarah (Hartwell) Shattuck, was born on August 30, 1772, and died on September 28, 1858; and probably he made the statement from his own personal recollection.

Slavery was never formally abolished in Massachusetts, but it was held by the courts that the Bill of Rights contained in the State Constitution, which was adopted in 1780, swept away this last vestige of feudalism. A nominal existence of the institution flickered for a short period after the adoption of the Constitution, as it took a little time to promulgate the great fact of abolition.

The following notice is printed in "The Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser" (Boston), December 28, 1780:

A Negro Child, soon expected, of a good breed, may be owned by any Person inclining to take it, and Money with it. For further Information apply to the Printer.

The following notices appear in "The Continental Journal and Weekly Advertiser" (Boston) under the dates, respectively, of January 4 and March 1, 1781.

To be sold, A hearty strong Negro Wench, about 29 years of age, fit for town or country.

To be sold, An extraordinary likely Negro Wench, 17 years old, she can be warranted to be strong, healthy, and good natur'd, has no notion of Freedom, has been always used to a Farmer's kitchen and dairy, and is not known to have any failing, *but being with Child*, which is the only cause of her being sold.

Mrs. Mary Sartell, widow of Colonel Josiah Sartell, died on March 30, 1780, aged 80 years. In her will she gives a large number of household utensils "To my maid Phillis, formerly Servant," who was the last survivor of negro slavery within the limits of Groton. The following entry is found in the town records:

Phillis Walby, servant to Josiah Sawtell, Jun., deceased, died at Groton, aged 79, February , 1821.

For twelve or fifteen years before her death Phillis was allowed annually a small sum of money from a charity fund,

which was distributed by the church, and occasionally instead of money a religious book was given. At one time she received a copy of Thomas Scott's Essays on the most important Subjects of Religion, and at another a copy of "Henry on Meekness." From these gifts it is fair to infer that her mental training was looked after, as well as her moral, for she evidently knew how to read. I am inclined to think, however, that she valued the pecuniary gift quite as much as the religious instruction gained from books.

Mr. FORD read a letter from the President of the Society, calling attention to the following statement recently printed in the "Boston Evening Transcript" (March 3), which again relates a tradition the truth of which has long since been exploded:

It would be a worthy task for William Austin, who wrote the still famous legend, "Peter Rugg, the Missing Man," to provide an equally becoming symbol for the approaching presidential inauguration. In Peter Rugg's day such an event would have been comparatively simple. Jefferson, for instance, rode on horseback one day to the Capitol, without attendance, dismounted, tied his horse to the fence and walked unceremoniously into the Senate chamber. There he delivered his inaugural address, was sworn into office, and the business was over.

In the "History of the United States," by Henry Adams, I. Chapter VII., is given the whole genesis of this myth or tradition, drawn from official despatches of the time. Mr. Adams there says that the wholly imaginative account of Jefferson's first inauguration, which has passed with many as history, originated with an English scribbler of the day, who "wished to write a book that would amuse Englishmen." Such being the case, it would appear that he has confounded the historical investigator as well, even down to the day that now is.

The subject was referred to in a readable account of "Inaugurations of Simpler Days," printed in the "New York Evening Post," February 27, 1909:

Jefferson was the first President to be inaugurated at Washington. Only the north wing of the new Capitol building had at that time been completed, and it was in the Senate chamber that the ceremony took place. The long, persistent myth that represented Jefferson, in his

A DECLARATION OF THE GENERAL COURT OF THE *MASSACHUSETS*

Holden at *Boston* in *New-England*, October 18. 1659. Concerning The execution of two Quakers.

ALthough the juſtice of our proceedings againſt William Robinſon, Marmaduke Stevenſon, *and* Mary Dyer, *Supported by the Authority of this Court, the Lawes of the Country; and the Law of God, may rather perſwade us to expect incouragement and commendation from all prudent and pious men, then convince us of any neceſſity to Apologize for the ſame, yet forasmuch as men of weaker parts, out of pitty and commiſeration (a commendable and Chriſtian virtue yet eaſily abuſed, and ſuſceptible of ſiniſter and dangerous impreſſions) for want of full information, may be leſs ſatisfied, and men of perverſer principles, may take occaſion hereby to calumniate us, and render us as bloody perſecutors, to ſatisfie the one, and ſtop the mouths of the other, we thought it requiſite to declare.* That about three Years ſince, divers perſons, profeſſing themſelves *Quakers* (of whoſe pernicious Opinions and Practiſes we had received intelligence from good hands, from *Barbadoes* to *England*, arrived at *Boſton*) whoſe perſons were onely ſecured, to be ſent away by the firſt opportunity, without cenſure or puniſhment, although their profeſſed tenents, turbulent and contemptuous behaviour to Authority would have juſtified a ſeverer animadverſion, yet the prudence of this Court, was exerciſed, onely in making proviſion to ſecure the Peace and Order here eſtabliſhed, againſt their attempts, whoſe deſign (we were well aſſured of by our own experience, as well as by the example of their predeceſſours in *Munſter*) was to undermine and ruine the ſame, And accordingly a Law was made and publiſhed, prohibiting all Maſters of Ships, to bring any *Quakers* into this Juriſdiction, and themſelves from comming in, on penalty of the Houſe of Correction, till they could be ſent away: Notwithſtanding which, by a back Door, they found entrance, and the penalty inflicted on themſelves, proving inſufficient to reſtrain their impudent and inſolent obtruſions, was increaſed by the loſs of th e ears of thoſe that offended the ſecond time, which alſo being too weak a defence againſt their impetuous frantick fury, neceſſitated us to endeavour our ſecurity, and upon ſerious conſideration, after the former experiments, by their inceſſant aſſaults, a Law was made, that ſuch perſons ſhould be baniſhed, on pain of Death, according to the example of *England* in their proviſion againſt *Jeſuites*, which ſentence being regularly pronounced at the laſt Court of Aſſiſtants againſt the parties above named, and they either returning, or continuing preſumptuouſly in this Juriſdiction, after the time limited, were apprehended, & owning themſelves to be the perſons baniſhed, were ſentenced (by the Court) to death, according the Law aforeſaid, which hath been executed upon two of them: *Mary Dyer* upon the petition of her Son, and the mercy and clemency of this Court, had liberty to depart wi thin two dayes, which ſhe hath accepted of.* The conſideration of our gradual proceeding, will vindicate us from the clamorous accuſations of ſeverity; our own juſt and neceſſary defence, calling upon us (other means fayling) to offer the poynt, which theſe perſons have violently, and wilfully ruſhed upon, and thereby become *felons de ſe*, which might it have been prevented, and the Soveraign Law *Salus populi* been preſerved, our former proceedings, as well as the ſparing of *Mary Dyer*, upon an inconſiderable interceſſion, will manifeſtly evince, we deſire their lives abſent, rather then their death preſent.

Printed by their order in

NEW-ENGLAND.

Edward Rawſon, Secretary.

Reprinted in *London*, 1659

FINIS.

every-day clothes, riding alone on horseback from his lodgings to the Capitol, hitching his horse to a fence, and walking unattended to the Senate chamber, has been pretty well dispelled. The story obtained currency principally by reason of its appearance in an English book of travels in which the author strained every point to make the Americans appear uncouth and only partially civilized.

As a matter of fact Jefferson's first inauguration was attended by more ceremony than any since the first inaugural of Washington. The President-elect was met at his lodgings, only a few hundred paces from the Capitol hill, by a body of militia comprising both infantry and cavalry, and a large delegation of citizens, with whom he proceeded on foot to the unfinished Capitol. There in the presence of most of Adams's Cabinet, Vice-President Burr, and the members of Congress, he delivered his inaugural address, and was sworn into office by the new chief justice, John Marshall. President Adams was not present, having left the city early on the same morning, piqued, it is said, at Jefferson's bearing in victory. The afternoon was given up to a reception at Jefferson's boarding house, and the evening to a banquet, the firing of salutes, and a series of mammoth bonfires.

Mr. FORD also submitted a photograph of a broadside issued in London, in 1659, giving the justification prepared by the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay of their dealing with the Quakers, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyer. The original is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, England, and is, so far as is yet known, unique. It is probable that there was a like broadside first issued in Boston, and it will be noticed how closely the English printer has followed the general form of provincial issues of that day; but no copy of such a broadside has been discovered.[1] A second issue appeared with the imprint "London, Printed by A. W. 1660." A copy was sold in London in the recent dispersion of Lord Polwarth's collection, February 15, 1909, and bore a different title, "A True Relation of the Proceedings against certain Quakers, at the Generall Court of the Massachusetts holden at Boston in New England Oct. 18, 1659."

Mr. FORD presented certain letters relating to the English

[1] In the instructions to John Leverett, prepared by the General Court of Massachusetts, December 19, 1660, the seventh paragraph speaks of "our printed declaration and petition to his Majestie" as containing an explanation of the proceedings against the Quakers. Even this reference does not show why two distinct issues were made in London.— Hutchinson's "Collection of Original Papers," 331.

Church in Holland, and others written by men who later came to New England, copied from the originals in the British Museum.

JOHN COTTON TO ARTHUR HILDERSAM.

REVEREND & DEARE S^R^, — My wife and selfe comend o^r^ hearty love to you, and to M^rs^ Hildersam, w^th^ thankes to you both, since wee last enioyed you. M^r^ Winters Journey into yo^r^ parts, giveth me this Opportunity, to send by so safe and ready a Bearer, what you called me to write by M^r^ Sharpe, an Ep'le to y^e^ Reader of yo^r^ Booke, addressed to y^e^ Presse. I have expressed therein my true thoughts, and what I desire might be of some vse to stirre vp yonge men like my selfe, to a more advised and fruitefull Reading of those labo^rs^ of yo^rs^, which I doubt not will much increase y^e^ fruite of yo^r^ Reckoninge, when you are gathered to Rest.

It is now late at night, and this Bearer departeth early in y^e^ morning: Therefore let me in a word Intreate you, to goe on in comunicating what other of yo^r^ labo^rs^ you may, to y^e^ hands of all. Noe fishing, like to y^t^ in y^e^ broade Sea.

W^thall^, I pray you, helpe this Bearer in his suite to M^rs^ Martha Temple, so farre as you shall see God's hand making way for him. As his learning is beyond y^e^ Ordinary measure of his time, and his Grace, more: so this argueth noe comon mercy of God to Him, that his moderation and Industry in his Calling, hath generally found Approbation of all here (for ought I heare) even of those who are not wont to thinke well of every good man.

The Lord Jesus still establish yo^r^ Peace, and prosper all his worke in yo^r^ hand, till yo^r^ chaunge come. Help vs, I pray you, w^th^ yo^r^ faithfull Requests before y^e^ Throne of Grace. So I rest The vnworthyest of yo^r^ poore brethren

JOHN COTTON.

[Addressed] To my Reverend and deare frend M^r^ Hildersam Preacher of y^e^ word at Ashby D^r^ these w^th^ Speede.[1]

JOHN COTTON TO THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN.[2]

MY HONOURABLE AND VERY GOOD LORD, — As yo^r^ Lordship hath dealt honourably, and Christianly w^th^ me: so might I iustly be

[1] British Museum, Additional MSS. 4275, fol. 154. This letter was probably written in 1629, and refers to Hildersam's "Lectures upon the Fourth of John," etc., published that year. The Dictionary of National Biography, xxvi., has a good account of Hildersam, but speaks of this volume as edited by J. C., *i. e.* John Carter of Bramford, Suffolk, an error which this letter corrects. A copy of the Lectures is in the Boston Athenæum.

[2] John Williams, bishop, 1621–1641.

esteemed impiously vngratefull, if I should deale otherwise, then ingenuously, and honestly w^th^ yo^r^ Lordship. When my cause first came before yo^r^ Lord^p^, yo^r^ Lord^p^ wisely and truely discerned, y^t^ my forbearaunce of y^e^ Ceremonyes was not from wilfull Refusall of Conformity, but from some doubt in my Judgm^t^ (w^ch^ I confesse is very shallow) and from some scruple in Conscience, w^ch^ is indeede as weake. And therefore vpon mine humble, and instaunt Petition, yo^r^ Lord^p^ was pleased in much goodnesse, to graunt me time to consider further of these things for my better satisfaction. Yo^r^ Lord^ps^ gentlenesse hath not since bred in me any obstinacy in mine owne Opinion: much lesse emboldened me to depart the further from y^e^ receyved judgm^t^ and practise of y^e^ Church in any point. The point of Kneelinge in Receyvinge y^e^ holy Comunion, was noe lesse doubtful to me (if not more) in y^e^ dayes of yo^r^ Lord^ps^ Praedecesso^r^, then it is now.[1] His Lord^p^ knoweth, that in Westminster by his Comaundem^t^, I propounded my doubts about it before himselfe, and the Reverend and learned Bishop of Sarisbury, y^t^ now is.[2] Vnto whom I did so freely open my selfe, out of deepe desire to helpe my selfe by their deeper Judgem^ts^, y^t^ my Lord discerninge my simplicity, became (as I conceyved it) y^e^ more favourable and willinge not onely to beare w^th^ me, but also to give some way to my Restitution, and in the windinge up to leave me in such Estate, as yo^r^ Lord^p^ found me. I humbly beseech yo^r^ L^p^ thinke not I have so abused yo^r^ Lord^ps^ Patience, as to harden my selfe by yo^r^ Lord^ps^ Lenity. Noe, I assure yo^r^ Lord^p^, out of an vnfeigned Desire, to improve yo^r^ Lord^ps^ Gentlenesse to mine owne Peace, and the Churches satisfaction, I have thus farre gayned (what by Conference, what by study, what by seekinge vnto God) as of late to see the weaknesse of some of those grounds against kneelinge, w^ch^ before seemed too stronge for me to dissolve. The Experience of y^e^ faylinge of my Judgem^t^ in some of these thinges, maketh me the more to suspect it in other Argum^ts^ and grounds of like nature. Besides I shall never forgett, what yo^r^ Lord^p^ gravely and wisely once said vnto me, The Ceremonyes I doubted of, were "noe where expresly forbidden in Scripture: the Argum^ts^ brought against y^m^ were but by Consequence deducted from Scripture: deduction of Consequences was a worke of y^e^ Judgem^t^ other mens Judgem^ts^ (so many, so learned, so godly) why should I not conceyve, did as infallibly deduce iust Consequences, to allowe these thinges, as mine owne, to doubt of y^m^." Alas, alas (my deere Lord) I see by often Experience, the shallownesse of mine owne Judgem^t^, especially in comparison of many Centuryes of Godly-Learned, who doubt not of the lawfull libe:ty of these Ceremonyes, especially of this Gesture. Their Consent herein, doth further strongly persuade me, to

[1] George Monteigne, bishop, 1617–1621.
[2] John Davenant.

suspect the motions of mine owne minde, when I see my selfe in any thinge to dissent from y^e^ receyved Judgem^t^ of so many Reverend Fathers, and Brethren in y^e^ Church, whom I doe not onely highly reverence, but admire. I see, it is comonly a Palsey-distemper in any member of y^e^ Body, when it is carryed by a motion different from y^e^ rule of y^e^ rest of y^e^ members. And I iustly suspect y^t^ spirit, in my selfe, or in another, y^t^ breatheth a motion different from y^e^ rest of y^e^ members of y^e^ body of Christ, y^e^ Church of God.

Thus may yo^r^ Lord^p^ well perceyve, how little, yo^r^ Lord^ps^ forbearaunce of me hath hitherto stiffened me in any private Conceyte. And though it hath bene suggested to yo^r^ Lord^p^ (as I heare) y^t^ it hath emboldened o^r^ Parish to Inconformity, and induced divers others to come from other Parishes, to Comunicate w^th^ vs in y^e^ like Liberty: Yet surely yo^r^ Lord^p^ hath done honourably and Christianly, and well beseeminge the æquity of yo^r^ High and Honourable Co^rt^, not to give Credit to such a Suggestion, till yo^r^ Lord^p^ hath Enquired, and heard o^r^ Answer. The trueth is, the Ceremonyes of y^e^ Ringe in Marryage, and standinge at y^e^ Creede, are vsually performed by my selfe: and all y^e^ other Ceremonyes of Surplice, Crosse in Baptisme, Kneelinge at y^e^ Comunion are frequently vsed by my fellow-Minister in o^r^ Church, and w^thout disturbance of y^e^ People. The People on Sabbaths, and sundry other Festivall dayes, doe very diligently, and throughly frequent y^e^ Publique Prayers of y^e^ Church, appointed by Authority in y^e^ Booke of Comon Prayer: neyther doe I thinke, y^t^ any of y^m^ ordinarily (vnlesse it be vpon iust occasion of other businesse) absenteth himselfe. It is true indeede, y^t^ in Receyvinge the Comunion, sundry of y^m^ doe not kneele: but (as I conceyve it, and as they Expresse theimselves) It is not out of scruple of Conscience, but from y^e^ store and multitude of Comunicants, w^ch^ often doe so thronge one another in this great Congregation, that they can hardly stand (much lesse kneele) one by another. Such as doe forbeare kneelinge out of any doubt in Conscience, I know not, how very few, they be: I am sure, in Comparison of y^e^ rest, they be nullius numeri. That divers others come from other Parishes for y^t^ Purpose, to Receyve w^thout Kneelinge, is vtterly vnknowen to me, and (I am persuaded) vtterly vntrue. All y^e^ neighbo^r^ Parishes, Ministers and People rounde about vs, are wholly Conformable. Once indeede (as I heard) one of y^e^ Inhabitants of o^r^ neighbo^r^ Parish, cominge to visit his wife (who then nourced a Gentlemans child in o^r^ Towne) did here Comunicate w^th^ vs. And whether for his not kneelinge, or for some further Cause, I know not, but (as I heard) y^e^ Co^rt^ beinge Informed of Him, did proceede severely against Him. But otherwise, the man (as I have since bene certefyed) hath alwayes vsed to receyve kneelinge, both before, and since. Yet his Case beinge further bruited abroade, then well knowen, might easily breede such a Suspicion and

afterwards a Report, w^ch^ in time might come to yo^r^ Lord^ps^ Eares, y^t^ divers did come from other Parishes to vs, for this purpose, To Receyve Inconformably. But yo^r^ Lord^p^ is wise, easily discerninge betweene Reports and Evidences.

Let me now therefore humbly intreate yo^r^ Lord^p^, in y^e^ bowells of Christ Jesus, since yo^r^ Lord^ps^ Lenity hath hitherto neyther hardened me to my self-conceyted Obstinacy, nor wrought any Præiudice, eyther to yo^r^ Lord^p^, or to y^e^ Church of God: Yo Lord^p^ will therefore be pleased, To allowe me yet further time, for better Consideration of such doubts, as yet remayne behinde. That if vpon further search, I can finde theim too weake to deteyne me, as I have done y^e^ former, I may then satisfy yo^r^ Lord^ps^ Desire, and Expectation: If Otherwise, yet I trust yo^r^ Lord^p^ shall ever finde me (by y^e^ helpe of God) a peaceable, and (to my best endeavo^r^, accordinge to my weake abilityes) a serviceable member of y^e^ Church of God.

I dare not præsume, w^th^ more wordes to Presse yo^r^ Lord^p^, whom y^e^ store and weight of so many important Affayres, presse continually. The Lord of Heaven and Earth give me still to finde favo^r^ in yo^r^ Lord^ps^ Eyes: And even He Prosper yo^r^ Lord^p^ w^th^ Longe life, and Happynesse, and Favo^r^ w^th^ God, and man. So humbly cravinge Pardon for my great boldnesse, I desire leave to rest Yo^r^ Lord^ps^ exceedingly much bounden Orato^r^

JOHN COTTON.

BOSTON, Jañ. 31, 1624

[Addressed] To y^e^ right honourable and Reverend father in God, my very honourable good Lord, Lord Bishop of Lincolne, Lord Keeper of the great Seale. Del. this w^th^ Speede.

[Endorsed] Cotton. 31. Jan. 1624. to Lo: Keep^r^. Boston. 1. Wherein himself, his Curat, and his Parish^ers^ conformable. Ob^ons^ answered.[1]

JOHN DAVENPORT TO LADY MARY VERE.[2]

MADAM, — A line or two from yo^r^ Hon^r^ would have bene to mee good newes from a farr Countrye. M^r^ More was a welcom messenger when he gaue mee assurance of your safe arriuall after so dangerous and troublesom a voyadge. He that deliuered you on the sea will preserve you also on the land how safe are you, Madã, that are hid vnder his wings, and held in his hands who is Lord of sea and Land? In nothing be carefull but in all things lett your requests bee mayd

[1] British Museum, Additional MSS. 6394. Boswell Papers, i. fol. 35. Another letter from Cotton to the Bishop of Lincoln, dated May 7, 1633, is printed in the Hutchinson Papers, *249.

[2] Mary, daughter of Sir William Tracy, of Toddington. She married in October, 1607, Horace, Baron Vere of Tilbury, who long served in Holland. Clarendon says her religious views were of a Dutch complexion.

knowne vnto God with prayers and supplicacoñs and giving of thancks. Keepe a record of speciall mercyes, they will much strengthen you against future feares. I hope to wayte vpon your Honor in England agayne ere long, if that be true w^ch^ I wrote to my Lord. if not, yet, whilest I liue, I hope to meete you daily, in presenting our offrings and sacrifices at y^e^ dore of the sanctuary. Be confident of this, that I am ever mindfull of your Honor making mention of you in my secrett prayers night and day. I beseech your La^p^ that I may still enioy the benefit and assistance of yo^r^ prayers, w^ch^ I am sure, haue bene accepted, and will still prevayle w^th^ our Alsufficient God thorough the mediacon of our Lord and Sauiour. Good Madã, lett me prevayle w^th^ you to take the encouragm^ts^ w^ch^ God giues you. sett an higher price vpon your prayers. vse and inioy y^t^ intrest w^ch^ you haue in Gods fauour thorough Christ if earthly men can giue good things to theyre children w^t^ good thing can yo^r^ Heavenly father denye you? onely beleiue stedfastly. aske in fayth and wauer not. you haue an vniust iudge granting y^e^ request of a strange widdow, a sleepy man satisfying y^e^ importunate desire of his neighbour though he came vnseasonably. and will not the righteous God, who is faythfull in his promises, grant the petitions of his children, whose prayers are always in season to him who comãndeth them to pray alwayes? Hagar was a bondwoamã cast out of the church, shee prayed not, but wept, shee looked not vp to God but vpon her Ismaell y^t^ scoffing Ismaell. yet God heard, and helped her. will he not much more regard Sarah who leaues her owne country and fathers house to goe w^th^ Abrahã in obedience to God, when shee seeketh his face by prayer for herselfe and family wherein Gods name is called vpon? Doubtles he will heare when shee prayeth, and before shee speaketh he will answer. Here stay your heart good Madã, and reioyce in y^e^ Lord: many prayers must be denyed, and refused if you want any thing y^t^ is good. But, that I may not tyre you w^th^ too much scribling, for conclusion of these rude lines written in too much hast, lett me intreat yo^r^ La^p^ to p^r^sent my service to my Lord Horton and his good Lady excusing my not wrighting to them at this tyme by the hast of this bearer M^r^ Robbert Hyrick[1] w^m^ I presume to comend to yo^r^ Noblenes beseeching you to remember my Lord of his promise to hasten his præfirm^t^. w^th^ whom also I ioyne M^r^ Humfrey who still wayteth in the citty expecting resolucon from yo^r^ Hon. how to dispose of himselfe. If I had but a litle more tyme I would haue written to M^r^ Balmford,[2] and M^r^ Sedgwick,[3] to whom I de-

[1] This was the poet Herrick, who was not admitted to the living of Dean Prior, near Ashburton, until 1629.

[2] Possibly the Puritan divine, who died about 1659, and at the time was pastor of Albons, Wood Street, London.

[3] Obadiah Sedgwick (1600?–1658), then chaplain to Baron Vere. See Dictionary of National Biography.

sire to be affectionatly remembred. I rest yo^r Honor^ble Ladysh^ps much obliged JOHN DAVENPORT.

Coleman Street Jan. 18. 1627

[Addressed] To y^e truely Noble and Worthy Lady the Lady Vere these be dd in Hague.[1]

JOHN DAVENPORT TO LADY MARY VERE.

LOND. June 30, 1628

MADAM, — Since my recouery out of a dangerous sicknes w^ch held me from a weeke or fourtnight before Shrouetide to as long after Easter (for w^ch I returne most humble and hearty thancks to y^e God of my life the father of mercyes) I haue had diuerse purposes of wrighting to yo^r Honor, onely I delayed, in hope, to wrighte somew^t concerning the event and success of our *High Comission* troubles, but I haue hoped in vayne for, to this day, we are in y^e same condic̃on as before, delayed till the finishing of this Sessions in parliam^t w^ch now is vnhappily concluded w^thout any satisfying contentm^t to y^e King, or com̃onwealth. Threatnings were speedily reviued against vs by y^e new Bishop of London D^r *Laud* even y^e next day after y^e conclusion of this session; wee expect a fierce storme from the inraged spiritts of y^e 2 Bishops; ours, as I am informed, hath a particular ayme at mee vpon a former quarrail, so y^t I expect ere long to be deprived of my pastorall chardge in Coleman street. But I am in Gods hand, not in theyres, to whose good pleasure I doe contentedly, and chearfully submitt my selfe. if it be his will to haue me layed aside as a broken vessell of no vse, his will be done, and blessed be his name y^t he hath served himselfe of me hitherto; if otherwise he be graciously pleased to continue me in my station and ministry he is able to keepe that w^ch I haue com̃itted to him, and I will wayte vpon his goodnes. however things succeed on earth, if he will not deliuer me out of y^e mouths of the Lyons, yet he will deliuer me from every evill worke, and will preserve me to his heauenly kingdom. In y^e middest of these troubles y^e Lord hath not left me without many comforts, amongst w^ch the remembrance of your former fauours, and y^e assurance of y^e present helpe of your prayers (w^ch I know, prevayle much w^th God, thorough Jesus Christ our Lord) doth exceedingly comfort mee. I reioyced greatly when I heard of your health, Mad̃, by yo^r Noble and worthy sonne in Law (in whom I account your Honor, and his Lady yo^r virtuous daughter very happy, as in one who, I am persuaded, will farr exceed y^e most of our Nobility in y^e truest worth) but much more did I reioyce in vnderstanding, by some passadges in his discourse, the continuance of your resoluc̃on to doe God all y^e Service you can in y^t place, wherevnto the good hand

[1] Additional MSS. 4275, fol. 158.

of God, I am confident, hath brought you for some speciall end. The whole countrye lookes vpon your personall carriadge, and vpon y^e^ ordering of yo^r^ family, wherein, as Salomon shewed his wisdom to y^e^ admiracõn of the Queene of Sheba, so I hope, your Hono^r^ will so glorifye God, and adorne y^e^ gospell, y^t^ we shall all haue iust cause to say, many daughters haue done vertuously but thou excellest them all. if this way, even by well doing you seeke glory and honor, you shall haue it on earth, and afterwards æternall life.

Concerning yo^r^ remoue from y^e^ *Hague Dr. Sibbs*[1] and I haue had some conference (who desireth to be remembred in y^e^ best expressions of sincere loue and service to yo^r^ Honor) we both agree in this conclusion y^t^, except absolute necessity inforce, you should not remoue your dwelling, both in respect of y^e^ benefitt yo^r^ family may haue by being members of a congregacõn (besides theyre helpes at home) and in respect of the helpe and encouragm^t^ the ministry and course of Religion in y^e^ Hague may haue by your countenance and example. the glory y^t^ may redound to God, and the good that may accrew to your family by yo^r^ continuance there will recompence the loss w^ch^ you sustayne in yo^r^ outward estate, but if this be not sufficient, we desire y^t^ you would propose the quæstion w^th^ y^r^ owne opinion and reasons more fully, and we will indeauour to satisfye your La^p^ by a more full answer. M^r^ *Sedgwick* wrote to me for a p^r^acher for Sir *Edw. Vere*, I haue one in readines for him if I may heare an answer of w^t^ I wrote to M^r^ Sedgwick, to whom and to M^r^ Balmford I desire heartily to be remembred. I confes myself indebted to M^r^ *Balmford* for answer of his two letter[s] which I hope to satisfye ere long. I wrote letters to my Lord and yo^r^ La^p^ by M^r^ Hyrick but never heard what became of them or him. I find a great miss of you, Madam, in the middest of my troubles, but I was not, nor am worthy to enioy such a freind. sometimes, I thinck, I placed too much content in y^e^ inioym^t^ of yo^r^ presence yet agayne I check my selfe fearing least I did not prize you enough, I was not thanckfull enough to you, nor to God for you, the Lord inable me now to pay my debts to my Noble Lord and your good La^p^ by fervent and frequent prayers for you both I hope ere long to be in Norfolke w^th^ my Lord Horton. my wife doth often make mention of yo^r^ La^p^ with most hearty [*mutilated*] of an high esteem of yo^r^ worth. I rest your Honor^ble^ La^ps^

[*torn*] DAVENP[ORT]

[Addressed] To y^e^ Right Honor^ble^ and Noble Lady y^e^ Lady Vere these be dd at the Hague.[2]

[1] Richard Sibbes, at this time master of St. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge, a puritan divine and voluminous preacher. In March of this year he had joined with Davenport in a petition in behalf of the distressed protestants in the Palatinate.

[2] Add'l MSS. 4275, fol. 160.

John Davenport to Lady Mary Vere.

Madame, — The report of that greate breach which it hath pleased the Divine providence to make in that family, wherein you are so much interessed, did at first somewhat astonish me, but after some recollection of my thoughts it affected me with sorrow and pitty: with sorrow for the publick loss, wherein ye wholl land suffereth by the fall of such a pillar, whose wisdom and publick spirit made him of singular use, not to Norfolke onely, in his prudent managing of the goverm^{t} com̃itted to him for the good of many, but to the wholl realme, in his strong complyance with ye best affected patriots in parliam^{ts}, for the promoving of any proffitable proposalls and motions for the good of ye wholl nation: with pitty and compassion to his good Lady, and the tender branches, whose loss I would rather vayle than expresse, knowing how sensible love maketh us of the want of that comfort which is more deare to us then our eyes, and more usefull to us then our hands, and which we would chuse rather to injoy, in the want of all outward things then to want in y^{e} injoym^{t} of all things. Nor can I looke aside from your La^{p} (Madam) whose former wound not fully cured, I feare this occasion causeth to bleed afresh, wherewith I am the more affected, when I remember how fearfull you were, because of ye infection in these parts, least by your coming thither any infection or sicknes by any of yours might be brought into the family; in which respect, the Lord hath dealt mercifully for the helpe of your spirit that this sad accident befell not at your first coming thither, nor till halfe a yeare was past, that your heart might be perfectly freed from that Cause of sorrow. Nor lett your tender apprehension of your owne demerits Cause in you a suspicion that in wrath to yourselfe this sorrow and loss is fallen upon your *daughter* and that Noble family, knowing that our daies are appointed by an æternall decree, and the number of the houres of mans life is to be found onely in that booke where all things were written before they were fashioned. I rather account it a mercy to your Noble daughter that this great affliction fell at such time when your presence might be a comfort and support to her dejected spirit, which also is some help to your selfe, who, I feare, would have bene swallowed up of greife, if the affection of motherly care for your daughter did not somewhat prevayle against your sorrow and mitigate it, by turning the streame of your love (at least in a great measure) into another channell. And indeed, Madam, excess of sorrow will be at this time unseasonable in your La^{p} whom God hath sent thither and stayed there by a speciall hand of providence for another use, whereunto im̃oderate greife will dissable you, viz. for the comfort of your daughter, and for the helpe of those litle ones who are your owne, in a great part, as Ruths child was Naomies, give me leave to add that the Lord

hath more plentifully provided for your comfort, Madam, after the death of your husband and sonne in law then for Naomi: for her owne sonne died and her daughter in law lived, but your owne daughter is spared though your sonne in law be taken away. And for Ruths one sonne you have 2 sonnes and 4 daughters added to your Honorable family, and the life of your daughter spared both for theyre good and your comfort, which mercy I will express in the words of y^e^ Israelitish woemen to Noomi (onely altering the number) Blessed be the Lord which hath not left thee this day without kinsmen, and theyre name shall be continued in Israel, And this shall bring thy life agayne, and cherish thine old age: for thine owne daughter, w^ch^ loveth thee, hath borne unto him and she is better to thee then seven sonnes. I must now Crave pardon that I putt an end to this wrighting sooner then I purposed being hurryed away by unexpected buisenes which forbidds my stay any longer the good Lord seale up the discovery of his love in your heart by y^e^ Holy Ghost to the sanctifying and sweetning of this bitter pill! Amen. Your Honorable La^ps^ in y^e^ Lord

JOHN DAVENPORT.

[Addressed] To the Right Honor^ble^ the Lady Mary Vere pressent these.[1]

JOHN DAVENPORT TO LADY MARY VERE.

MADĀ, — The importunity of this bearer to carry, at y^e^ least, an ackowledgm^t^ of the receite of y^e^ token, w^ch^ it pleased your Hon. to send to my wife, together w^th^ my owne desire of expressing our thanckfulnes for that, and many other favours receiued from you, emboldeneth mee to this rude and breife expression of my selfe, in so few lines, being by present vrgencye of buisenes, and some streights of tyme, this Saturday night, denyed liberty of enlarging my selfe. That ancient candor and noblenes of disposition, which you haue alwayes exercised towards me, in making a good construction of my errours, as it hath formerly imprinted in mee an high esteeme of your worth, and good opinion of me, so at this tyme, it giues me assurance that this rudenes will be pardoned, and my desire of presenting most humble and hearty thancks to your Hon. will be accepted. I hoped, ere this tyme, to haue obtayned my long desire of seeing my Lord, and your La^p^ w^th^ yours in England. The Lord preserve you in the way and make your returne prosperous! This day I receiued a letter from your Noble sonne, my *Lord Haughton*,[2] w^ch^ should haue bene here, I thinck,

[1] Add'l MSS. 4275, fol. 162. This letter probably refers to the death in his minority of Sir Roger Townshend, of Norfolk. Mary, the second daughter of Baron Vere, married the father, Sir Roger Townshend, of Raynham, Norfolk, whence are descended the Marquises of Townshend.

[2] John Holles, second Earl of Clare, who was known after 1624 as Lord Haughton. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Lady Vere.

a moneth sooner, to whom I desire to be excused y^t^ I wrighte not an answer, for want of tyme. I hope shortly to giue an answer to himselfe not in wrighting, but in speach, at your returne to England, w^ch^ I wish may be hastened w^th^ all convenient speed. In y^e^ meane space, I present my humble service to his Lordsh^p^, and to his worthy Lady. By M^r^ *Sedgwick*, I receiued a letter from M^r^ *Balmford*, whom I loue unfeignedly, for y^e^ graces that shine in him. if he resolue to settle at y^e^ Hague, I beseech y^e^ father of spirits to encourage his spirit to that greate worke, and to furnish him with wisdom, and vtterance, and zeale in abundance, and to goe foorth with him, in his ministeriall labours, in much power and efficacye. I cañot wrighte to him now, but I acknowledge my selfe his debtour. Now the good Lord shew mercy to my Noble Lord, your Honor^ble^ La^p^ and to your whole family, in ordering your consultac̃ons and resoluc̃ons to his owne glory in your wellfare, and in filling your hearts with all needful graces, and comforts, and in protecting your persons, and preserving you in health and safety, there, and in your voyage, and in fulfilling all your necessityes! I rest, in much hast, craving pardon for this blurred scribling, your Honor^ble^ Ladish^ps^ much obliged in y^e^ Lord,

JOHN DAVENPORT.

Decemb. 26, 1629.

I will not fayle to sollicite Sir Maurice Abbott[1] in your buisenes concerning Hales.[2]

[Addressed] To y^e^ Right Honor^ble^ and truly Noble Lady, the Lady Vere, these be dd at the Hague.[3]

JOHN DAVENPORT TO LADY MARY VERE.

MOST NOBLE AND VERY MUCH HONOURED LADY,—In y^e^ middest of my disquietments and tossings to and fro, it is some comfort, y^t^ I haue assurance of the continuance of your fauo^r^ towards mee, and of your remembrance of mee in prayer: I know, that loue which you haue bene pleased so freely to cast vpon mee will quicken you to all diligence and industry in any way and course that may conduce to y^e^ procuring of my liberty, but hitherto it hath pleased God to leaue me in much darkenes, and many difficulties, to vnbottom mee wholly of y^e^ creature, and to reueale himselfe more clearely and fully in all issues, and euents y^t^

[1] A prominent merchant of London, and at this time governor of the East India Company, a position that gave him close connection with Dutch commercial questions.

[2] Probably John Hales, "the ever memorable," who had served in Holland in 1616 as chaplain to the ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton.

[3] Add'l MSS. 4275, fol. 164.

befall mee Be not troubled, much less discouraged (Good Madã) at any rumors you meet with concerning my present way. The persecuc̃on of y^e^ Tongue is more fierce and terrible then y^t^ of the hand at this time, I haue sense of both. But I can say it is for thy names sake o Lord, that I beare this reproach. But y^e^ iniurious surmises of those, by whom I should be comforted and supported, many that profess religion in an higher strayne then some others, doeth much afflict mee. I pray God it be not layed to theyre charge! The trueth is, I haue not forsaken my ministry, nor resigned vp my place, much less seperated from y^e^ Church, but am onely absent awhile to wayte vpon God, vpon y^e^ settling and quieting of things, for light to discerne my way, being willing to lye and dye in prison, if y^e^ cause may be aduantaged by it, but choosing rather to preserve y^e^ liberty of my person and ministry for y^e^ Seruice of y^e^ church elsewhere, if all dores are shutt against mee here. what I now doe and suffer is not caused by any guilt of any practise or action done or intended by me, which may expose me to any iust censure of Authority, much less by a desire of ease (as some giue out) hauing gotten a greate estate; least of all by reseruing to my owne priuate benefitt any thing com̃itted to my trust for the publick good. my estate, though I am not in any present want, is not able to maintaine mee without a calling in y^e^ buisenes of y^e^ feoffees [1] I haue giuen vp my account vpon oath, and the Lord God who searcheth y^e^ hearts knoweth y^t^ I am so farr from gaining by y^t^ buisenes in my outward estate, that I am out of purse, in myne owne particulars for the aduancement of it. The onely cause of all my present sufferings is, the alterac̃on of my iudgm^t^ in matters of conformity to y^e^ ceremonies established whereby I cannot practise them as formerly I haue done wherein I doe not censure those y^t^ doe conform (nay I account many of them faithfull, and worthy instrum^ts^ of Gods glory, and I know that I did conforme with as much inward peace, as now I doe forbeare, in both my vprightnes was the same, but my light different) In this action I walk by y^t^ light which shineth vnto mee. lett no man say the matters are small and what need I be scrupulous in these things? That which y^e^ Ap^le^ speaketh of Rom. 14 was but a small matter, yet you see how heauy a doome he passeth vpon him y^t^ doeth it doubting of y^e^ lawfullnes of it. *v* 14. 22. 23. I haue bene taught by my Lord and Sauior to account no com^t^ of God small, and to despise a mans way, that is, to thinck this is too despicable and slight a thing to be stood vpon, you know whan an euill it is. pro. 19. 16. But these things are not small, neither in themselues, nor in the consequences of them. But I haue not time to be large: onely thus much I thought

[1] An account of the plan to establish a fund for the ministry, and of Laud's move against the Feoffees, is in Cotton Mather's Magnalia, Book iii, ch. iv. Hugh Peter was also concerned in this plan.

good to present to your Hono^{r} in way of account for the present, hoping that God will giue mee an opportunity to make a more large and full Apollogy, for y^{e} satisfaction of all men. They that know mee, might haue suspended theyre opinions, and censures till they had heard from my selfe, y^{e} reasons of my actions. with much aduise of many ministers of eminent noate, and worth I haue done all which I haue done hitherto, and with desire of pitching vpon y^{t} way wherein God might be most glorifyed. In his due time, he will manifest it. M^{r} *Harris* I know fully and I doe heartily loue. He is a very worthy man of a very gracious hearte, humble, mild, and gentle Spirit. a man not at all taken notice of by y^{e} Bishops. he is weake and sickly, but you need not be discouraged by y^{t} for it is a lingering weakenes wherein he may hold out long, but his spirit is very active in good, he is very fitt for your occasions in all respects. you shall be very happy in him if you can haue him. he is one of a thousand. It is not in y^{e} Bishops power to take from you what is settled vpon y^{e} Nobility and others by magna charta, the right and power of intertaining chaplaines. feare it not. The good Lord strengthen your inward mã with y^{e} ioys of his spirit! Your Honorable Ladiships much obliged

JOHN DAVENPORT.

MADÃ — I pray send by this bearer 2 or 3 sheetes of gilded paper. I am now about to write to my Lord Keeper.

[About 1633.]

[Addressed] To y^{e} Right Honorable the Lady Vere, these be dd.[1]

In October, 1632, information was laid before Sir Francis Windebank, Secretary of State, against the English churches in the Low Countries. The preachers of the Merchant Adventurers at Delft were the chief persons complained of, for they were said to observe no forms of prayers, nor any solemnities, to administer the sacrament without form, and plant churches and ordain ministers at pleasure. The home government wrote letters to the Adventurers instructing them to select conformable preachers, and threatened to call in the Company's charter in default of reformation. Seventeen members of the Adventurers, residing at Delft, united in a declaration, saying that they learned they were traduced in England as schismatics, but were ready to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance whenever required, and to conform themselves to all the laws of England when they should come

[1] Add'l MSS. 4275, fol. 166. Davenport resigned his English charge and went to Holland late in 1633.

to live therein. They asserted that they had conformed to the government established in the churches of the United Provinces "by the joint authority of our State as well as of this State," under which they lived as their predecessors had lived. Sir William Boswell, recently appointed Ambassador to the Hague, described the church government among these Merchant Adventurers to be

entirely Presbyterian, and that the company fell into that fashion at the first grant of free exercise of religion. Mr. Davison, Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador, was an elder of their church, as Mr. E. Gilpin, then Secretary of the Company, was afterwards. In Divine Service they neither officiate "according to their mother English," nor keep the canons of the Reformed Belgic churches. They have never had any regular constitutions. The deputy, Mr. Misselden, and Mr. [John] Forbes, the present minister, are irreconcilably at variance, the Deputy challenging them for want of Liturgy, Catechism, Confession, set forms of Prayer for Marriage, or for celebration of the Sacrament, exercise of the Lord's Prayer, and solemn Thanksgiving and Anniversaries for the Birth and Death of our Saviour, "things, if true, of most insufferable nature, and most dangerous consequence." [1]

Goffe wrote to Misselden of a discovery that might help him in his prosecution of the Church's cause:

Mr. Paget complains exceedingly of Misselden's troublesome minister [Forbes], that he is a man of most usurping and imperious disposition, labouring for nothing so much as his own pre-eminence. Paget has procured acts from the Dutch churches that in their opinion the English Church ought not to have a classis, the reason being that they who sue for it have schismatical self opinions. Paget having examined Mr. Hooker on interrogatories, the latter has shown that he thinks no church as yet knows Christ's mind, but he knows it alone. Our Puritans have little cause to complain of the proceedings of our Church, since they are creatures that can live no where. Forbes, having complained of the ministers and classis of Amsterdam for their censure of Hooker, has been rebuked by Jacobus Laurentius, then president, for his meddling, with this expression, that though he complain against the bishops of England, yet himself hath more than an episcopal spirit.[2]

[1] Boswell to Council, March 18, 1633. State Papers, Domestic, 1631–1633, 475.
[2] Goffe to Misselden, April 26, 1633.

At this stage the King himself intervened, for he wrote sharp instructions to the Company of Merchant Adventurers, based upon what Boswell had written and Laud wished:

His Majesty has been advertised by his agent with the States General that there are divers of the ministry in those parts, the King's natural born subjects, very ill affected to the government of the Church of England, and that they have opposed those who stand for the decent form of divine service used in that Church, by which and by betaking themselves to fancies, they disparage the King's government, and bring contempt upon themselves among foreign nations, whereas the King's intention never was that any company residing in foreign parts should exempt themselves from the government of this Church or State. The King therefore wills the company not to entertain any minister departed from this country or censured here for nonconformity, but only such as are conformable. Edward Misselden, then deputy governor at Delft, who has been affronted in his government by some of the company, incensed by those refractory preachers, for his endeavour to reduce them to the government of the Church of England, is in danger by their practices to be removed from his place, which the King will by no means endure. The King expects they will give him all encouragement in the present and future elections, and that the London Company will cause a copy of this letter to be sent to those of the company in foreign parts.[1]

Misselden himself came to London, to kiss hands, and submitted some thoughts on the Adventurers' position, by which he hoped to make them more amenable to the King. He wished a conformable minister to be sent out with him, to settle the company in conformity to the Church of England; the Book of Common Prayer to be sent out and used; and that the chief government of the company be reduced to London, which would cause them of necessity to renew their charter, and might draw from them a convenient homage to the king.[2]

At this time Stephen Goffe appears as an element of trouble, having read the prayers of the Church of England to a regiment in the Netherlands by orders of Lord Horace Vere. He stated that great contentment was given by the reading, but he half contradicts himself by describing the result. It was true only one officer left the church, but the State was

[1] Dated, Westminster, May 29, 1633.

[2] Misselden to Secretary Windebank, July 24, 1633.

made acquainted with the new order "as if some new and superstitious thing had been introduced," and he was complained of as an "innovater and troubler of the church," his stipend of £30 a year was cut off for a time, and factious English and Scottish ministers admonished him to desist. Goffe rather enjoyed the approach to martyrdom, and wrote to Henry, Earl of Dover, that he would continue to read prayers whether the £30 were paid or not, being of opinion that so good a work must not be forsaken for the hazard of that sum. One of Goffe's opponents, Colonel Hollis, was admonished to desist, "as he tenders the King's favour." And the reprover, no less a person than Sir John Coke, acting under the King's immediate order, continued:

It is no small dishonour to his Majesty's government, and also to our church and religion, that in a country where way is given to all sorts of religions, even to our factious and scandalous separatists, we should make difficulty in using that liturgy which is not only prescribed to all good subjects, but is also most agreeable to that which was used in the primitive and best times of the church, and which the most learned and religious much prefer before those naked and indigested forms, wherein the people have no part.

Stephen Goffe to Sir William Boswell.

Sir,—I had provided to have sent you the summe of M^{r} Pryetts relac̃ons concerning the English classis from Emmerick but that we were suddainly carried from thence to Santomsbeacke a place betwixt Rees and Weazell. But are not likely to land there because of the great overflowing of the Waters insomuch that M^{r} Witte told my Ld that the Prince he thought when he saw it would returne backe to Nimmengen and so the army should march to Rhineberke. But my Ld not knowing yet w^{t} wilbe the issue (the prince not being come to that place on Wensday night) is come to Weazell [Wesel] where he will stay till the army is somewhere setled: And here such things as I meet with I cannot but informe you of. The minister to the English (as I said in my note) is a German who speakes English having lived in Oxoñ above a yeare and els where in England 2 yeares more. And he is a very good Scholler, but a yonge man, yet one that is a very thankefull man to England; for both in his life, and learning he is more English then Dutch. I see he hath taken a degree in Leyden: and his theses I have sent vnto you; first for a story I shall tell you, and then because they be dedicated to the Bp of Lincolne. His 80 thesis was much misliked by o^{r} puritanes. gõ M^{r} Goodyer

opposed him publickly in the Scholes; because he tolerated o^{r} Liturgy, and would prove that o^{r} Liturgy was not to be endured; (because it commands the reading of Lies that is the Apocrypha.) And by that thesis he gott the ill will of all that tribe. M^{r} Cotton of Bostone sent him a lett^{r} about it blaming his medling. and D^{r} Ames[1] anoth^{r} the Copy of w^{ch} I have sent you, word for word as it is. (But saith o^{r} defendnt the professors showed themselves then feirce maintainers of o^{r} bookes.) You may see D^{r} Ames his good nature that he likes not any man hartily that is acquainted with a Bp̃. Now Sir I thought it fitt to propose this vnto you because I know not how it is possible to gett a fitt^{r} man to go through with that busines we have in hand: if by you he were p^{r}sented and placd in Coll Morgans place.[2] for he is a man throughly setled in his judgement for o^{r} church in all things. And hath great frends amongst the states insomuch that there wilbe no doubt of his getting the 200 gilders an: w^{ch} M^{r} Batchel hopes to retaine. (Hassolt [or Haffolt] Paw: Capell are his frends) and Treasurer Goch by the recomendaõn of my Leifte: Coll. Hollis wrote for him to come to Mastricht to be pastor to the Dutch there. yõ he must not except against him. Here he is professor of Philosophie in the Schola illust: of Weasell. for w^{ch} he hath a house and some allowance from the towne, and his fath^{r} is a wealthy man neare Munster (w^{ch} I write because if he be p^{r}ferred to Coll Morgan it wilbe inconvenient for him to be quite removed from this towne) Now I conceive his Ma^{tie} would like of this because he hath defended o^{r} Liturgie, when he had no relaoñ to o^{r} church: and the Bp̃ of Lincoln would looke vpon it as thing done in reference to him too. These are but my private thoughts yet such as I know I may trust with you; els I know Peters[3] and that accusing tribe would be glad to me medling about this. Now if you please to write w^{t} you conceave of this, y^{r} leſe may be sup^{r}scribed to me, but to be left with Leiftenant Smith Leiftenant of an English Company at his house in Weasell. The Ministers name is M^{r} Gwin. and if you please to speake with him he would be ready to come to the Hage, and could tell you many storries of the proceeding of o^{r} Classists, and you might lay w^{t} lawes vpon him you would y^{r} selfe. He is all a Schooleman; there is his Master learning, and well studied in the History of the Popes, and hath a booke now in the presse to prove that there was a Pope Jone, a work of more labor

[1] William Ames, who had married the daughter of Dr. Burgess, chaplain to Sir Horace Vere, and had himself served in that capacity. He was now occupying the chair of theology at Franeker, and died in this year.

[2] Sir Charles Morgan.

[3] Hugh Peter went to Holland about 1629, and was at this time minister of the English church at Rotterdam, and closely associated with Dr. Ames. The "Articles and Covenant" printed on page 223 brought against him such complaints and disputes that he decided to remove to New England.

than fruit: yet he will shew that he hath read bookes. Whatever you please to command me Let it come that way by Leiftenant Smith. My Ld Vere hath never beene bett^r body nor mind in a jorney then this, and is fully now sett against o^r humorists. I desire my humble service be p^rsented to M^tis Boswell, and so I rest Your very thankfull and harty servant

Stephen Goff.

Weasell, Thursday assension May 5^th s^t no. [1633].

My Lord this day commanded me to write to you, to p^rsent his service and to tell you that if he knew any thing worth your knowing he would not faile to send it: but as things are he bidds me sett downe, which is nothing but as before that the great waters have beene a great hindrance to the Prince that the shipping are not all come vp to Santomsbeake till this night, that two bridges are made for the Landing of the men w^ch wilbe to morrow, that there have beene horse and foot sent about the quarters about Rhineberck, and that therefore in all probability that is the place we shall sitt before. That the speach is Count Willm̃ is comming downewards. The Princes are well quartered in Santom; and as yet the Prince of Orange and they eat togethe^r.

This 7th of May Satterday night.

I have mett with an admirable Story here. By the helpe of the Dutch P^rach^rs of the towne the very same controversy that I have had about o^r Pray^rs. o^r Countrymen who fled hith^r in Queene Maries daies had with the Inhabitants here. and I have gott out of their towne Archiva, two Supplicãons in Lattin o^r countrimen made for their owne rites and pray^rs.

A coppy of o^r communion p^rsented by them to the Magistrates.

A leṽe of Melanchtons in their behalfe. vpon which they had full Leave granted them to vse their owne rites and pray^rs; and had a church allowed them. the leṽe I read in Melanchtons handwriting.

These things I have caused to be coppied out. I see this leṽe of Melanchton is printed by Pezelius in Melanchtons Consilia theologica. but it is mangled and not compleat nor like the autograph, as I have noted wherein [*worn away*].

[Addressed] To the right Worp^ll my worthy frend Mr. William Boswell. Agent for his Ma^tie of Great Brittaine. at Hage.

[Endorsed] Goffe: 5 May, 1633. *Wesell.* English Classis Litourgie, &c. Engl. seruice in Wesel. Mr. Hooker.[1]

[1] Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 134. The mention of Hooker's name is not easily explained. He was then in Holland, associated with Dr. Ames, and, Mather says, assisted him in composing some of the "Fresh Suit against human Ceremonies," which was passing through the press when Ames died. Davenport, in his letter of March 18, 1634, *post*, says the book was printed before the author's death.

Stephen Goffe to Sir William Boswell.

Sir, — I give you harty thanks for y^r^ serious and Loving encouragement, w^ch^ togeth^r^ with your directjons in this my pilgrimage will make me a happy man. I hope you have receaved a third letter from me, w^ch^ gave you account of the first Sundaies worke. Before the next M^r^ Sclaer came who is a conformable man in w^t^ he doth but I have grounds to thinke not in his hart: for by his owne relatjon when he was at the Hage he went vp and downe from State to State to see if he could be forbidden to obey the King. But they (one as I remember Gandt) telling him that they did not Lay any inhibition, but referred it all to the Prince of Orange, whose mind he said it was that it was best men should practice according to the churches to w^ch^ they belong, Hee is contented to do it. He told me furth^r^ that the Councell of State had putt in their judgements against it, in many sheets of paper; To w^ch^ the General States have not yet answered, and as he gath^rs^ frõ them, are not likely to do. M^r^ Day is now come amongst vs too, so that all is right, but that Cott Morgan is of no religion neith^r^ for p^r^aching nor praying. The feild businesses are related to you by bett^r^ hands. There is newes come that the Governour of Rhineberke is seazed vpon by 6 troops of horse of the Enimies, and carried into Gelders as a Prisoner, they fearing els that he would gett away to Culleine whith^r^ he hath sent his goods by shipping before him. Cott Feruns this day is sent by the prince to the Landgrave of Hesse, and it is discoursed that we shall have a great supply of horse frõ him, w^ch^ togeth^r^ with the command for the suddaine recruiting of y^e^ companies out of England and France makes vs expect a great deale of worke this summ^r^. It is written vnto me frõ England that M^r^ Cotton of Boston hath convinced M^r^ Damport [Davenport] and M^r^ Nye,[1] two of the great p^r^achers of the citty that kneeling at the sacrament &c. is plaine Idolatry, and y^t^ for that reason M^r^ Damport hath absented himselfe every sacrament day w^ch^ is once a month since Christmas, and M^r^ Cotton is going for New England: Here is a blessed vacation that o^r^ visitant Peters comes not his circuit this League as he was wont: my old adversary is semp^r^ idem never comming to the worship of God till praying is done. The Polish Embassadour makes men talke here of a Queene of Poland: Prince Charles is growne a very curious antiquary with such furniture, as the old Romane camps have afforded Him. I desire my humble service may be p^r^sented to M^tis^ Boswell who if shee would follow the example of a multitude may wel

[1] Philip Nye, who was in Holland from 1633 to 1640. He believed that at sermons the preacher should wear his hat, but the congregation be uncovered; but at sacraments the preacher should be bareheaded and the communicants covered.

venture to see the army, for here are almost all the wives that belong vnto it, and more too. And so I rest your humblest servant

STEPHEN GOFFE.

June 7th St: no:

I beseech you to do me the favour to tell Dr Higgs,[1] if here were any thing that I could bettr informe in, then he is at Court, I would not faile to write. I am his servant.

[Addressed] To the right Worpfull Mr William Boswell: Agent for His Matie of great Brittaine at the Hage, This.

[Endorsed] Goffe. 7 Jun. 1633. Army. Rhynbergh. Lre. 14/24 Jun. 1633.[2]

ALEXANDER BROWNE TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

ROTTERDĀ the 17/7 of August, 1633.

SIR, — my last was to you the 15 of this: senc wch tyme I hapned one this booke: if you have not seene it before: there is A 100 or 200 bownde at this towne to sell to the good santes wch are in England and mr Puckell A Catterpiller to his Cuntrie as I may say haith the saill of them: but it is not the mans faulte so much as vp howllders: his Chefest vp houldr is mr Peter that is the truth and he is one that standes much for the good of his Cuntrie: the bak waij and one that Resspeckteth you Hor: much for to this bearrer: he saide: that you sent one for him to talke wth him Concerninge mr Bacheler and wch all fell vpon him wth sum descorse touchinge him selfe: but truly saide he: I slighted his speches see sir this pore condičned man whoe in A mañer slightes his Kinge, Kingdom and the Imbassadors: of his K but what should one say to such refracktories but it is a great shame theay should be sufferred but I hop it will in tyme be all mended: and thus in hast I take my leave and Rest yor Honr to doe you any service

ALEX BROWNE

[Addressed] To the Honr Sir William Boswell knight and Imbassadr for his maiestie of great Brittane.

[Endorsed] Browne 17/7 Aug: 1633. dam. 1 fresh suit agt Ceremonies. 2. Puckel blasoned. 3. Peters backbiter of me &c.[3]

ALEXANDER BROWNE TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

ROTTERDAM the first of Nouemr 1633

HONNARD, — Sence my laste beinge wth you I have littell or noe news to Informe you of only mr Peter reported to sum of his peopell

[1] Griffin, or Griffith, Higgs, who served as chaplain to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, from 1627 to 1639.

[2] Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 144; [3] 150.

that he was to preach his far well sermond at delft the last sunday: and to leaue it A dessolaite plaice wheer their was wepinge Amongst his female saintes to heir of the sad stories he related vnto them heir at Rotterdam before he departed: for nowe in steed of preacheinge we should haue A littell seruice Staruice read wth many other skandolous wordes he eussed vpon the Common prayer: Doc^{r} Amis his prefaice to the fresh supplie is printed and I am promissed one of them but I shall noe sowner receaue it but I will send it forwarde to your Honnor: I have heir sent you m^{r} Peters Couenant w^{ch} he maide and vnless wee will all subscribe to this his Couenant wee shall not be admitted to the lords Table neither ould members nor newe: so that it seemes to me our Church formerly was noe Church: but what authorite he haith to doe those thinges: I knowe not: for he him sellf saith the Church of England doth Tije the Concienc of men to do this and that, and he for his parte in this his Couenant Tieth both Concienc and purss. Sir I ffear I am to tedious to you vp such A subieckt but I will Ceass at pressent Committinge you to the Allmightes prtexcioñ and euer Restinge youers and not his owne to Comand.

Alex Browne.

[Addressed] To the honorable S^{r} Williame Bosswell: ressident for his Maiestie of great Brittane at the Haige.

[Endorsed] Browne. Nou. 1633. Rtrdam.[1]

Articles and Covenant.

The 15 Artikells and Couvenant of m^{r} Hugh Peter of Rott^{r}.

1. To Be Contented wth meit triall for our fittnes to be members.
2. To Cleaue in hart to the truth and pure worship of God and to oppose all wayes of Innouation and Corupcion.
3. To suffer the word to be the guide of all Controuersies.
4. To Labor for growth of knowledge: and to that end to Confer, pray, heare, and meditate.
5. To Submitte to brotherly admonission and Censuere wth out enuie or anger.
6. To be throughly reconciled one to another euen in Judgment before wee begin this work.
7. To Walk in all kind of exactnes both in regard of our selues, and others.
8. To for bear Clogging our selues and harts wth earthly Cares w^{ch} is the bayn of religion.
9. To Labor to gitt A great meassure of humillitie and meeknes and to bannish pride and highnes of spirit.

[1] Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 153.

10. To Med[i]tate the furthering of the gosspell at home and A braod as well in our perssons as w^th^ our pursses.

11. To Take nearly to hart our bretherens Condition and to Conforme our selues to these troblesome tymes both in our dyett and apparrell that they may be w^th^ out excesse in nessesitie.

12. To Deall w^th^ all kynd of wissdome and gentellnes towards those that are w^th^ out.

13. To Studie vnitie and brotherly loue.

14 To Put one and other in mynde of this *Couenant* and as occassion is offered to take an Acompte of what is done in the premisses.

15 And for the furtheringe of the Kingdome of Crist : Dilligently to instruckt Chilldren and seruants: yea and to look to our wayes and accompts Dayley:

Finis.

[Endorsed] Articles or Couenant offred by M^r^ Hu: Peters Minister, to the English Congregacon at Rh~rdam, to his Congreg^on^ before admission into it, or to the Lords supper to be subscribed &c 1633.[1]

ALEXANDER BROWNE TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

ROTTERDAM the 13 of Decemb^r^ [1633].

SIR, — thoughe I have benn sum what longe: in aduissinge of you: of the lettere w^ch^ youer: honner deleuered vnto [me] to be dell vnto Cussinge Harris: I hope you will not take it vnkindly nether think it any neglecht in me: but raither looke vpon the weither: one sunday last I deleiuered it vnto him: and vp Munday he sett saille from henc w^th^ one Antonij Jacobes for London:

I have Inquiered whether m^r^ Peters is A burgar or not: and as I am informed doucttingly he was maide A Burger w^th^ in this: 6 weekes: I shall God willinge Informe yo^r^ honner more Certainly both of this: and other matters or it be longe and thus dessiereinge yo^r^ Hon^r^ to houlde me Excussed: Giueinge yo^r^ honer many [*word omitted*] for my kiend Intertainment I Rest youer Honners Humbell seruant wheer in I may do you seruice.

ALEX BROWNE.

Sir I am in sum haist I dessier your Honner woulde beair w^th^ my stogrifee [orthography] and ill writting.

[Addressed] To the Honbel S^r^ William Bosswell Imbassador for his maiestie of great Brittane def in de Haige.

[Endorsed] Browne. 13. dec: 1633. Rhrdam.[2]

[1] Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 161; [2] 158.

Stephen Goffe to Sir William Boswell.

Worthy Sir, — Having 2 houres liberty before my Colonel came last night, I visited M^r^ Damport, who intends a jorney to y^r^ selfe on Monday for an occasion w^ch^ I thought my duty first to acquaint you with. He complaines that my Lds Grace of Canterbury this tearme very lately (as it is written vnto him frõ his frends in Ldon) in the high commission court tooke occasion to speake of him, and to blame him with some sharpenes for his p^r^achings and discourses since he came into these pts. That he should inveigh most violently against the policy of the church of England. w^ch^ M^r^ Davnport doth deny that ever he did, but confesseth that Vossius his sonne[1] was at a sermon of his wherein he defended the gesture of sitting at the Sacramt impugning that of Kneeling as vnlawfull; not medling with o^r^ church (as he saith) but the gesture. And he thinkes that Vossius in lẽres to my Lds Grace of Cantab. hath informed against him for w^ch^ he speakes more sharpely against him, then it is probable he hath beene spoken against by any oth^r^s. And not only he hath taken the Cry against Him, but the whole knott of that sect in the towne do most bitterly teare the name of Vossius. His errandt to you wilbe to justifie himselfe and declaime against his accuser, and to begg of you to be his *sponsor for more wisdome, and a bett^r^ temper.* Besides Vossius he hath anoth^r^ greivance frõ M^r^ Pagett;[2] with whõ his dispute increases; not only about the matt^r^ of baptisme, but about the authority of a Classis (and as they adde oth^r^ things) so that he said himselfe vnto me that he thought he should not fixe here. But Ofwood said they hoped to have him Lecturer here, if not Copastor with M^r^ Paget.[3] I have not yet had time to visite Vossius &c, but hastned this away, that you might know the true cause of His comming, w^t^ever he shall p^r^tend, when he sees you. I see distresse and necessity will teach men good manners. And so I rest. Your most bounden Servant

Stephen Goffe.

Amsterdam. Saterday morning: Feb. $\frac{25}{15}$ $163\frac{4}{3}$

My Colonel wil not stay here long^r^ than Monday.

[Addressed] To the right Worp^ll^ my worthy frend S^r^ William Boswell Knight, Resident for his Ma^tie^ of great Brittaine. this.[4]

[1] A very full account of the scholar Isaac Vossius is in the Dictionary of National Biography. If he is intended by the text, he was more than precocious to have complained of Davenport's preaching, as he was now in his fifteenth year. The letters must have been written by the father, Gerard John Vos, then occupying the chair of history in the University of Amsterdam.

[2] John Paget.

[3] Davenport's differences with Paget and the Dutch classis, which led to his desisting from public preaching, are mentioned in Mather's Magnalia, Book iii, ch. iv.

[4] Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 188.

JOHN WEBSTER TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL S^R^ — this bearrer m^r^ John Dauenpoortt a worthe[y] deuine is the man thatt the *Inglish churche* in *this city* maek choije off *to be minnester to the congregation and to thatt end the magistraetts of this cittij and y^e^ Cla* [torn] *have consented and aproued of him.* and itt seems thatt hee is crediblÿ informed thatt som euill wille [*torn*] his, yea I maij saij euill willer to him and to y^e^ *Inglish church* in this cittij haue informed the reuerend lord the Archbishop of Canterbury, thatt he in his sermons hier hath preached *agaijnst the gouerment of our kingdom,* and therfoer he taketh his Jurneij to the haghe to maek his *appoligie to your self* and to signifij how he is wronged in thatt repoortt, and ÿff fals repoortt should taek place nott only he butt our whoell congregation should suffer.

So this is to intreatt you worship fauorably too admitt him to speack in your presens for himself and to giue me so much creditt as to belieue thatt nott anÿ man hier is known that did euer hear him onc to enter *into any treatty of the gouerment of our kingdom.* Myself haue heard moest of the sermons that euer hee did preach hier and I saij seriusly I did neuer hear him onc to moue anij such matter butt *allwaijs att begining or ending of euerij sermon doth pray for our kinge and counsell* I say in all the sermons thatt euer I heard him preach I neuer heard him onc to meddell in any *matter of staett nor can I learn* that euer anij man hier heard him onc to touch vpon thatt poijnt. Your letter of 20 currantt I haue and in itt the coppy of the staetts obligation for *s* 8000 for which I rest thanckfull. and itt may be I may to morrow taeke my Jurny towards the haghe to proffer you my seruic befoer your departtuer. but howsoeuer I wish you a prosperus voyage to your content so I taeke leaue. Yours in all seruic

JOHN WEBSTER.

AMSTERDAM the 27 febbruary 1634.

[Addressed] To the right worshipfvll S^r^ William Boswell Knight Agent for his magesty of Great Brittangnie, m. Sgrauenhagh by a worthey frend whoem God conduckt in saeftij.

[Endorsed] Webster. 27 Febr. 1634. Dauenport. Am'dam.[1]

STEPHEN GOFFE TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

WORTHY SIR, — Since the receiving of y^rs^ March 6, frõ Brill, for w^ch^ I give you many thankes, M^r^ Paget hath sent his kinsman to me to relate what was done in the Classis last weeke. The ordinary busines being dispatched in their mondayes meeting they resolved of purpose to come togeth^r^ the next day to heare M^r^ Damports matt^r^ On

[1] Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 190.

one side M^r^ Paget declared that aft^r^ the consent of the magistrates and by ord^r^ frõ the classis he with the Eld^r^s had offered M^r^ D his Call in writing. but that He refused it his conscience not suffering him to vnd^r^-take those conditions w^ch^ yet were thought necessary by 5 of themselves, and were in appearance accepted by him selfe. On the oth^r^ side were two of the Eld^r^s of the Church deputed and instructed by M^r^ Damport; who indeed confessed the refusall, and the ted^r^nes of his Conscience, but in the name of the *most* and *chiefest* of the congregation desired the Classis that they might have him established amongst them, not Pastor but Assistant in preaching, alleadging the excellency of his *guifts*, and his *discreet* and *peaceable* carriage. Vpon the notice of his refusall some of the Dutch ministers who (by the Merchants M^r^ D. frends) were brought to be sticklers for him professed themselves much wronged, that M^r^ D had putt them vpon the displeasure of the magistrates. For that the Magistrates did alledge, as his deserting England, so his differing frõ the Belgicke constitutions w^ch^ they had answered vnto them, and warranted vpon their crediits that he would be a fitt and conformable man. But now in his plaine flijing off and that for such easy condicions, he did lay them open to shame to the magistrates, who were difficulte before, but now would be possessed; that many oth^r^ differences were hidd in his brest besides these. To that matt^r^ of being Lecturer or assistant in preaching only, that was a Species of creatures w^ch^ was not in their church. Besids that therein they should exceedingly wrong M^r^ Pag whose age required a College in all the burthens of the church, w^ch^ were as many and more heavy in the businesses of the Consistory for government, and in administring the sacram^ts^, then in the pulpitt for preaching. And that vnlesse he were Legittimate Pastor he could have no place in the Consistory &c. In fine There Conclusion was that 3 Dutch Ministers should be deputed to go vnto him in the name of the Classis to exp^r^sse the just cause they have to be offended at his refusalls, they having through so many objections made his way for him. And to take his reasons why he will not accept of those condicions concerning baptisme. And that next classis these 3 must report w^t^ his reasons be that so they may sett a finall conclusion to this matt^r^ The men designed are La Maire, and Laurentius two of y^e^ Amsterdammers who take themselves most wronged by this vnexpected refusall, and one Rulandus a minist^r^ of a dorp by: a very good Scholler, and one that can speake English if necessity require it. The man is vnfortunate (if he do not deserve it) for the causes they give of his frequent absence, and this p^r^esent jorney, but however their commission is to waite him at his first footing Amsterdam againe, w^ch^ is not yet. For yet he is with his Oracle at Delphos to expound and vntye what comes vnto him frõ East and West. Perhapps he chose rath^r^ to send then bring his relãon vnto y^r^ selfe, because Brill was once belonging to the

king of England; or vpon a point of widdows[1] his wisdome he was not sure he should have Leave to come backe againe. I hope Vossius will heare the story of this Classis, that so the Magistrates may be fully informed of w^t^ hath passed, and see how just there feares and exceptions were. But I cannot thinke (nor can my relator) that the ministers intend to pswade him to come on, but rath^r^ debating his ill anwering their kindnes to lay hard^r^ and more vnwelcome condicions vpon him. Brill aire and such stories as these are somew^t^ alike. God send you out of both; If there be any thing wherein I may be imployed I begg y^r^ commands. Those bookes when they are to be had I will not faile to send. M^r^ Widdows is not yet come for the execution of his politike petition. And the Patres Lugdunenses are oth^r^wise imployed, to witt, in selling their bible, w^ch^ hath been breeding this many yeares; The States have given the patent of printing it for 15 yeares vnto the translators, who have sold the old Testament to one company of Stationers, for 3000 guld. And the new Testament to anoth^r^ company for 3000 g. more. The question is how well this worke wilbe shaped in severall and those disagreeing Shopps, but the markett would have it so. besids y^t^ now many mens mouths are open against the worke it selfe, as being needlesse, or however partially done, but this discourse wilbe Loud^r^ hereaft^r^. I must trouble you no long^r^. I pray God send you a wind and a happy jorney, my humble service and my pitty to my Lady, I pray you, and so I rest Your most humble and thankefull Servant,

STEPHEN GOFFE.

LEYDEN, March 6.

[Addressed] To the right worp^ll^ my worthy frend S^r^ William Boswell Kt. Resident for His Ma^tie^ of great Brittaine in the Low Countries. These dd. Briell.

[Endorsed] Goffe. 9. March. 1634. Leyden. Dauenport. &c.[2]

JOHN DAVENPORT TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL

HONORABLE SIR, — When I first Came into these parts, my purpose was to stay he[re] but 3 or 4 moneths, and, that time being expired, to returne for England my nati[ve] Countrey, had not the sinister and slanderous informac̃on, whereof I complained in [my] last, exasperated the ArchB^p^. of Cant: to reproachfull inuectives, and bitter mena[ces] against me in the High Com̃ission, whereby my returne is made much more difficult and hazardous then I could suspect, when, in that letter, I sayd, I am willing to exercise those gifts which God hath giuen me &c, I vsed that expression not in affectation, but as fittest to represent my present state, and to intimate that I am not ingaged by any relation of office for continuance here; which, being

[1] This may refer to Giles Widdowes.

[2] Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 194.

added to what I then wrote, and the vnseasonablenes of two or three moneths (after my arriuall) for trauayle, and that I was but once at the Hague, in transitû, before the last time, when I trauayled thither purposely to present my selfe and seruice to your Ho: will make a full apollogy for my seeming neglect in that particular. The particulars, wherein I have changed, are no other than the same, for which many worthy ministers and lights eminent for godlines and learning haue suffered the loss of theyre ministry and liberty; some whereof are now in perfect peace, and rest, others are dispersed in seuerall countreyes, and some yet liue in England as private persons, who were and are loyall and faithfull subiects to theyre soueraigne, and haue witnessed against hæresyes, and Schysme and against all sectaryes, as Familists, Anabaptists and Brownists, against all which I also witnes, in this place, wherevnto I had not come, if I could haue bene secure of a safe and quiett abode in my deare natiue country.

If that way of questioning should pass vpon all men, which your wisdom iudgeth meete in this case (as will appear vpon your revew of the second question) I thinck, they that iudge me will be found, in some particulars, to haue spoken against the gou^rment of England. All that I spake was concerning the gesture of sitting, vsed in this countrey, in receiuing the Sacrament of y^e^ Lords supper, which I approued, and preferred before kneeling, grounding what I sayd vpon Luke 22. 27 to 31 wherein I named not England nor the gouerment thereof, and so carryed the discourse, that it might be applyed as well to the popish or lutheran custom here as to any other, and passed it ouer so breifly that all I sayd may be written in a very few lines: nor did I euer heare that any man tooke offence thereat, but this informer, who was discontented the weeke before at a sermon wherein some Arminian errours were touched vpon by me, which quickened him to watch for some aduantage, wherevpon he might ground an accusation.

Whereas it pleased you to question vpon oath whether I haue not bene Cause, or Conscious of any English bookes, or treaties printed or published in these parts since my coming ouer, or now in press, wherein the present orders and gouernm^t^ of Engl: in church affayres are traduced, and vndermined? my answer (but without oath till I shall be lawfully called therevnto) is negative. D^r^ Ames his last booke instituted a fresh suit against ceremonies is the onely booke, that I know of, which hath bene published since my coming into these parts, that booke with y^e^ præface was printed before I came from England, yea before the authors death, who was buried before my arriuall here, nor haue I dispersed any of them in England, or in these countryes. My profession of to being still his Ma^ties^ loyall and faythfull subiect is in simplicity and trueth, neyther shall they disproue it, who traduce me, and if they proceed according to these beginnings, I shall be constrained to declare

myne innocencie in an Apollogy printed to the vew of the world, and therein to comunicate the grounds, wherevpon my iudgm^t and practise was altered, and the reason of my departure thence hither; with such obseruations as I haue made in both places.[1] But it is not my purpose so to doe, vnles the continuance of iniurious aspersions make it necessary, in which case the law of God and of nature bindeth men to such a Vindicacon of theyre innocency as the case requireth. Oh that the good hand of God would bring it to pass that those vgly vizzards of disloyalty and schysme being pulled off, the persons that are besmeared and deformed with these obloquies might be represented to his Ma^tie in theyre owne shape and colours, viz. in the tendernes of theyre conscience, in the peaceablenes of theyre disposition, and in the simplicity of theyre intentions for the good of church and commons vnder his Royall Gouernm^t for the continuance of whose life, and raigne in peace and prosperity I doe and shall (as I am bound) daily prostrate my selfe with my poore prayers before the throne of grace. What account of my wayes I tender to your Ho: I doe it as to his sacred Ma^tie, whose worthy Agent and instrument you are in these parts, in hope that you will make such vse of it as may conduce to the satisfaction of Authority and my peace. For which Noble favour I shall alwayes pray that you may be imployed in Honorable seruices, and blessed with Happy success in them all yo^r dayes and shall rest Yo^r Hono^rs to be Comanded in y^e lord

John Dauenport

Amsterdã March 18. 1634. stilo locj

[Addressed] To the Right Worshipfull Sir William Boswell Knight Agent for his Ma^tie of Great Brittaine.[2]

Stephen Goffe to Sir William Boswell.

Worthy Sir, — I had thought not to have written vnto you till I could have done it to some purpose, in relating the issue of M^r Damports busines, and sending those bookes of Salmasius to have made vp that discourse de tmo vitæ compleat. But these are not yet come forth; and the Amstert busines will not come to its period till the first monday in May, at w^ch time M^r Damport is to give vp his finall answere. You left him to meet with 3 deputies of the Classis, w^ch vpon his returne at last he did, desiring M^r Forbes[3] and M^r Peters who went

[1] Davenport appears to have printed such an "Apology," as Dr. Dexter mentions in his bibliography of Congregationalism, a "Protestation on occasion of a Pamphlet entitled 'A Iust Complaint' &c. published by a nameless Person." The Iust Complaint appeared in 1634, and the Protestation in 1635.

[2] Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 196.

[3] John Forbes, who had endured much persecution for his belief.

with him to assist him should be admitted to the Conference, but that being not Granted he was constrained to venture alone, where yet he refused to discourse, and entreated liberty to commence his grievances in writing to the classis. That was granted and in the next classis read; to w^ch^ their sentence was; that if by the next classis w^ch^ is the 1 monday in May he did not fully assent vnto these Conclusions w^ch^ the 5 ministers before had made that he should be declared incapeable of y^t^ charge, and y^t^ aft^r^ward he should not preach, to disturbe or make a schisme in y congregac̃on; This hath cost Forbes and Peters and Batchellour anoth^r^ jorney to Amsterdam, who have (as they phraise it) strengthened him, and M^r^ Batchelour told me himselfe, that M^r^ Damp: will not nor cannot yeald vnto their classis, and that he is resolved not to stay; And they speake it in the praise of M^r^ Peters courage and zeale that he should often vse this speach to M^r^ Damport. Take heed M^r^ Damport what you do, for you were as good yeald to the English B̃ps as to the Dutch classis. I shall labour to get copies of the Condicions of the 5 ministers, and of M^r^ Damports Leſe to the classis, and their final sentence, when it shall come forth, and w^t^ hath passed in writing betwixt them. In the meane time I was willing to send this; that I might not seeme negligent in my duty vnto you, vnto whõ I am bound to ow my selfe. This passage hath not brought me nor the marcheants one word of that busines w^ch^ concernes vs. I am now in the Hage with my Colonel in his new house, His Lady is come, and I hope I shall find a free, and happy, and every way desirable being there, especially if amongst your many businesses, and in that great distance I may still continue the happines in your favour, to receave the influence of y^r^ directions and councells for my studyes and life; your kinsman at Leyden is very well, and doth proceed in p^r^serving and advancing his good mind. I am not so gon frõ thence, but that I have quarter there still; and shall studie all the waies I can to approve my selfe your servant, in him, and in w^t^ I conceive you would judge fittest for me to do, especially in this happy leisure w^cñ^ I hope o^r^ vacancy frõ the feild this sommer will allow me. I pray you p^r^sent my humble service for me vnto my Lady Boswell, whose tedious passage I was sad for. I hope God will prosper you more luckely backe vnto vs, if it be best for you. And so I rest Your humblest and most thankefull Servant

STEPHEN GOFFE.

April $\frac{1}{7}$ M Batchellour is taken on by the West Indy company, and will go to Farnabucca.

[Addressed] To the right Worpll my Noble frend S^r^ William Boswell at White-Hall this.

[Endorsed] Goffe $\frac{7}{17}$ April, 1634. Hague.[1]

[1] Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 198.

GRIFFIN HIGGS TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

HON^BLE SIR, — The want of busines, or Newes enforceth me to trouble you with a Ceremonie of my service. I have perswaded M^r Widdowes to forbeare his suite for a Dutch pension at Leyden, vntill your returne, and then to be wholy guided by your wisedome. M^r Can of Amsterdam, (as I Conjecture) hath lately putt forth a Pamphlett against the Church of England;[1] which I borrowed for your secretarie, to pervse, and to send you the Contents of it, but I cannot yet gett the Booke to send you. M^r Damport is still a Non-Conformist to the Dutch Church, as well as to the English: in many points: one is the not-baptizing of Infants, vnles he approve the parents faith, and life: wherevpon the Dutch ministers have silenced him, and (without Conformitie to their orders before the first of May) they doe peremptorily reject him. M^r Thursby is a suiter for that place: M^r Pagett, and the Dutch-ministers, (vnto whom according to my advice, he addresseth himselfe) doe much favour him: and (whatsoever the issue of his suite be) it is manifest, that the Dutch ministers doe mislike our Non-Conformists, and would more easilie entertaine conformable men of learning, and good life, and moderation. ffor they doe now professe at Amsterdam, that they will not continue the stipend to any English minister who comes against the King of Englands pleasure. When any thing shall happen here worthy of your eares, I shall trouble you with it: meanewhile, my humble service presented to the truly virtuous Lady the Lady Boswell, I Leave you to the protection of the Allmightie, and rest your most affectionate ffriend to serve you

GRIFFIN HIGGS.

April 9 S. Vet. 1634 from her ma^tie of Bohemia her Court, at the Hage.

[Addressed] To the Honor^ble my singular good ffriend S^r William Boswell Knight, Agent for his ma^tie of great Brittaine with the states of the Low Countries.

[Endorsed] Dr Higgs $\frac{9}{19}$ April 1634. Hague.[2]

GEORGE BEAUMONT TO SIR WILLIAM BOSWELL.

S^R — Yours by M^r Cubitt I have receiued, wherin your wonted vigilancy for, and honour to, our Deere Moth^r, with respects to him whose ioy and glory tis, to be your seruant and so to approoue himself, is more then fully expressed. To particulars I can make no oth^r re-

[1] John Canne, successor to Henry Ainsworth as pastor of the English church at Amsterdam. He printed in this year his "Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England." It can hardly be described as a pamphlet.

[2] Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 200.

monstrance, then your owne wisdom can better dictate, you know that sort of men &c. tis true *M^r Dauenport* hath bin reported out of towne, vpon w^t grounds whether to repayre health or otherwise I know nothing, yet I beleeue your lettre may haue come to his hands, tis the Priscilian pietie to preach and practice reseruations, nor is the Precisian behind in any craft that may conceale themselues. That w^ch you leaue to the last place I must take notice of in the first, as concerneing my particular most: that you wonder att the Question (by on) whether you had forbidden M^r Damport to preach in Rotterdam because it was sayd you had; I confesse that clause troubled me much, and it is on misery attends euen the highest fauours to be entrusted w^th Secrecyes. When you say you wrote to the Party Satturday was Sennitt, I cannot tell w^t constructions the man might make of your lines, but this I heard, the last weeke M^ris Forbes comeing to towne, condoled their losse of M^r Dauenport who shee sayd was Silenced, so it went to M^ris Amie from her to others. M^r Church Gott it and it seemes M^r Cubitt tooke it vp from him: whence M^ris Forbes (saue from Damports mouth) should haue it I cannot Guesse, for my part I protest in verbo Sacerdotis no man had any hint from me much lesse relatiõ, saue M^r Powell and that sub sigillo too of whom I am as confident as I desire you to be of me, it may be the comõn fate of thinges shortly to follow preuented the thinge it selfe by rumours before. Be it howeuer, I haue told you all I know, w^rin I hope you will rest satisfied. I humbly beseech you they may not be false prophets, but that you will helpe their Spirits to hitt on a truth for this once. His Booke I heard not of, but by you I shall enquire after it and examine it according to your comãnd, and send my markes in the Margin, if att least I can gett it. M^r Deputy presents his seruice to you, and will wait your best leysure and health till Tuesday next, if your health by then shall answer our hopes and prayers; or till you please, if he shall heare from you before to the contrary; as desireing to receiue that honour of being presented to His Ma^tie by your hand. by the first hand I can send you shall not fail of the comõn prayerbookes howeuer the next weeke God willing I will wait vpon you so rests Your humble and thankful Servant

GEO BEAUMONT

ROTTERDÃ Aprill 27, 1636.

M^r Archer presents his humble Seruice and thankes for your remembrance of him in this extremity who indeed is in cause I haue not bin w^th you this weeke hetherto.

You may p^rceiue I was not negligent though some carriadges of thinges were in cause you receiued not this letter in that due time it was both penned and intended: M^r Deputy on day resolueing to stay till tuesday next weeke and the next day altering (by others p^rsuasions)

to go for the Hagh, presently putt me beside all as you may please to conceiue, I pray God our yong counsellours abuse not his facility too farr, as they do their betters too much but no more of that.

Since I wrote this former part I have enquired of M^r^ Dampts booke, tis true it is out, but himself (as the printer told me) had the whole impression (being att the whole charge of all himselfe) w^ch^ came to 400 and 50 Guilders, tis a booke in 4to. as he sayes of about 40 sheetes. This is all I can say to that.

I sent you by M^r^ Cholmer on thursday your Co: p̃r ra^r^ booke in lattin, w^th^ that of Cartwrights your owne Copie and that one I light on in London, w^th^ the booke I borrowed of M^r^ Warren in your name viz. Gods loue to mankind. Why I sent not my letter then I had rather tell you when I come then be large heer. The Noyse heer is much louder about Damport viz. that I brought a letter to the Ll^s^ from the King to inhibit him I am rayled att euery where w^th^ open mouth and *Fletch^r^ of Amsterdam* hath ouer table in the English house vented his rage in so foulmouthed rayleinges that those that heard them, only tell me that the abuse was intollerable, but what, how, or wherin, out of pure modesty they will not tell me, but I doubt not I shall learne hereafter. You may please when I come to put me in mind of the word (Salute) and I shall possibly giue you other and those probable reasons of further satisfaction touching that you wonder att.

M^r^ Archer lies Drawinge to his long home and I feare will hardly suruiue your reception of this. So soon as possibly I can I will come to the Hagh for I much desire to speake w^th^ you and as euer to approoue my selfe Your faithfull Seruant

Geo Beaumont

Rotterdam, April 30, 1636.

I am confidently informed that M^r^ Damport is att the Hagh att some priuate house.

He hath heere accepted to be their Doctor but another must be pastor.[1]

Sir William Boswell to John Davenport.

M^r^ Damport, — Now aboue ten dayes since I prayed you by letters (w^ch^ were left at your lodgeing in Rotterdam) to lett mee speak w^th^ you w^th^ all conuenient speed. wherof because I haue heth^r^to receiued no answer, I have thought best to put you againe in mind, being Yo^r^ loueing freind

Will: Boswell

I must give you thanks for sending mee yo^r^ book, whereof I wish there had neue^r^ been occasion.

Haghe, 7 May, 1636.[2]

[1] Add'l MSS. 6394, Boswell, i. fol. 237; [2] 244.

According to the notice of Davenport in the "Dictionary of National Biography," no less than six publications were issued by him between 1634 and 1636, and before he left for New England in May, 1637. These publications are thus named by the writer of that notice, Mr. A. Wood Renton:

1. A Letter to the Dutch Classis, containing a just complaint against an unjust doer. 1634.
2. Certain Instructions delivered to the Elders of the English Church deputed, which are to be propounded to the Pastors of the Dutch Church in Amsterdam. 1634.
3. A Report of some Passages or Proceedings about his calling to the English Church in Amsterdam, against John Paget. 1634.
4. Allegations of Scripture against the Baptising of some kinds of Infants. 1634.
5. Protestation about the publishing of his writings, 1634.
6. An Apologeticall Reply to the Answer of W. B[est]. 1636.

Of these titles Dr. Dexter mentions three, and attributes only 5 and 6 to Davenport's pen. No. 1 he properly enters as by an anonymous writer (for which he has Davenport's own authority), to which No. 5 was Davenport's reply. Paget wrote "An Answer to the unjust complaints of W. Best. . . . Also an Answer to Mr. J. Davenport touching his report of some passages," etc., thus identifying No. 3 as one of Davenport's issues. No. 4 is certainly on a subject which was of immediate concern to Davenport.

It is strange that I can find no title even of the work attributed to W. Best and which called out replies from Paget and Davenport. It is possible that the title of Paget — "Answer to the unjust complaints of W. Best" — may be a play upon the title of the anonymously issued "A Iust Complaint against an Vniust Doer," and of which Best came to be known as the writer. If this supposition is tenable, we have a triangular controversy, in which Davenport found himself opposed to both Best and Paget, and Paget was opposed to both Best and Davenport. Under these conditions it is not strange to read of "our troubles" in Amsterdam.

Remarks were made during the meeting by the senior Vice-President, William R. Thayer, Barrett Wendell, Charles C. Smith, Henry W. Haynes, and Charles R. Codman.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1909.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved; and the usual monthly reports were submitted by the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper.

The PRESIDENT submitted for the Council the following vote, which was adopted:

Resolved that the Massachusetts Historical Society respectfully requests the Boston School Committee not to sever the link which connects the name of John Winthrop with the Schools of Boston, by giving another name to the new building which is to be erected for the use of the Winthrop School.

The PRESIDENT then read a letter from our associate Mr. Howe, stating that

Professor Wilder D. Bancroft of Cornell University agreed yesterday to an arrangement by which the papers of his grandfather used in the preparation of the "Life and Letters of George Bancroft," published just a year ago, shall be deposited with the Massachusetts Historical Society. Some private and family papers are first to be removed from the collection, and for a certain period Professor Bancroft retains a right to recall the deposit.

The collection is very extensive, and contains letters on political and historical matters from many of the most prominent persons in the nineteenth century. It is especially rich in letters of the two periods through which Mr. Bancroft held public office: from 1841 to 1849, when he was Collector of the Port of Boston, Secretary of the Navy, and Minister to England; and from 1867 to 1874, when he was Minister to Germany. There is also much that is valuable and important in the years before, between, and after these periods.

The Society voted to accept the deposit of these papers on the conditions stated by Professor Bancroft.

Dr. Green, for Mr. DEXTER, who was absent, presented a memoir of John Elliot Sanford; and Mr. MERRIMAN one of Charles Henry Dalton.

The PRESIDENT reported the receipt of an invitation to attend and participate in the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Calvin, to be held at Geneva, Switzerland, in July next; and announced a vote of the Council that some member be accredited as the representative of the Society on that occasion.

Mr. PAINE, Senior Member-at-Large of the Council, presented their report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

This report covers the period from April 1, 1908, up to and including the March meeting of 1909. Among the matters acted upon by the Council the past year, the most important was the election, in November, of Worthington C. Ford to the office of Editor of our publications to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Charles C. Smith, who had so acceptably held the office of Editor since November, 1889. Mr. Rhodes, in his report of the Council in 1903, spoke of the loss sustained by the Society in the termination of Mr. Ford's membership by reason of his removal from the State. I am pleased to report that Mr. Ford has again become a Resident Member and has assumed the duties of Editor of our publications, to which position he was elected in November, 1908, and it may be said his election marks the beginning of a new era in the history of our Society.

Mr. Ford entered upon the duties of his position on January 4, 1909, and took up at once the work of preparing editions of Winthrop's History of New England, and Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, which will be his immediate charge. In the interim between the resignation of Mr. Smith and the election of Mr. Ford, one volume of the Proceedings was published under the direction of the Committee of Publication.

Much needed improvement has been made in the basement of the Society's building to restore that part of the original plan of construction, and a new steel stack has been installed in one of the rooms for the unbound publications of the Society and duplicate material of sufficient value to be saved. At the October meeting the President reported at length about the changes, and suggested the importance of getting rid of accumulated printed material for which there is neither room

nor appreciable use and which is likely to be a constantly increasing mass of inflammable matter.

Mr. Shaw, in the Council report of last year, said that the "most obvious need of the Society at the present time is an enlargement of the space devoted to the Cabinet," and suggested the erection of a two-story addition to the building for the purpose on vacant land in the yard. The need for such a change still exists.

The Society's observance of the Tercentenary of the birth of John Milton was an important event in its annals, and was a part of the great commemoration both in England and America. The members of the Society and the audience which filled the First Church edifice on that occasion listened with profound attention to the address delivered by our associate Dr. Everett, and to the introductory remarks by our President.

Important action was taken by the Society in regard to the change of names of streets and squares, by a formal remonstrance to the Mayor and City Council against the proposed change of name of Maverick Square, East Boston, and by the efforts of a committee of the Society, appointed for the purpose, to secure the passage of an Act of the General Court to prevent in the future such changes of names within a reasonable length of time. This Act was passed and signed by Governor Draper on March 2, 1909.

The work on the General Index of the second series of the Proceedings is progressing, and it is expected that the final publication will soon be made. Another important undertaking by the Society will be the publication of the diaries of Cotton and Increase Mather, and Mather papers proposed to be issued in co-operation with the American Antiquarian Society, and a committee of three was appointed by this Society for that purpose. The Antiquarian Society has also appointed a committee of three to confer with the committee of this Society as to the best plan to be pursued in publishing these diaries in the possession of the two Societies.

The monthly meetings of the Society have, on the whole, been well attended, and members have availed themselves of the privilege of hearing the valuable and interesting papers that have been presented. At the April meeting of last year Dr. DeNormandie presented a timely paper entitled "Modernism," which was followed by his papers on the same subject

at the May and June meetings. F. B. Sanborn read a valuable paper on "The Early History of Kansas, 1851 to 1861." At the June meeting President Adams gave an interesting talk on Thompson's Island and Squantum.

During the fall and winter months papers have been presented as follows: in November, on the Discovery of the Weare Papers, by Mr. Sanborn, and "Memoir of Abbott Lawrence," by Dr. Green; in December, Introduction by President Adams at the Milton Tercentenary, and "Milton the Puritan," address by Dr. Everett at the same celebration; in January, "Abraham Lincoln at Tremont Temple in 1848," by Mr. Schouler, a Corresponding Member, and "Old Mile-stones leading from Boston," by Dr. Green; in February, "Civil War Pensions," by Rev. E. H. Hall, "Diary at the Siege of Louisburg," March 11 to August 2, 1745, communicated by Dr. Green, Lincoln's first Inauguration, by President Adams, "Milton's Impress on the Provincial Literature of New England," by President Adams; in March, "A Forgotten Incident of the State Rights Controversy," by Mr. Stanwood, First Battle of Bull Run, by Mr. Clement, two remarkable cases of trustworthy traditions, by Mr. Matthews, "Slavery at Groton in Provincial Times," by Dr. Green, and Letters relating to the English Church in Holland, and others written by men who later came to New England, communicated by Mr. Ford.

Since the last meeting the following changes have taken place in the membership of the Society:

Deaths:

Resident Members.

Alexander Viets Griswold Allen	July 1, 1908.
Charles Eliot Norton	Oct. 21, 1908.

Corresponding Members.

Daniel Coit Gilman	Oct. 13, 1908.

Termination, by election to Resident Membership:

Worthington Chauncey Ford	Feb. 11, 1909.

Elections:

Resident Members.

Charles Pelham Greenough	April 9, 1908.
Henry Ernest Woods	Oct. 8, 1908.
Worthington Chauncey Ford	Feb. 11, 1909.

Corresponding Members.

Henry Morse Stephens	April 9, 1908.
Charles Borgeaud	Oct. 8, 1908.
Lyon Gardiner Tyler	Feb. 11, 1909.

The following publications have been issued by the Society during the year:

A short account of the Massachusetts Historical Society by Charles C. Smith, together with the Act of Incorporation, additional Acts and By-Laws and a list of Officers and Members, January, 1791–April, 1908.

A Documentary History of Chelsea, including the Boston Precincts of Winnisimmet, Rumney Marsh, and Pullen Point, 1624–1824. Collected and arranged with notes by Mellen Chamberlain. In two volumes.

Serial numbers of Proceedings, third series, Volume I., April to June, 1908.

Serial numbers of Proceedings, third series, Volume II., October, 1908, to March, 1909.

Proceedings, third series, Volume I. (April, 1907, to June, 1908).

The Commemoration of the Tercentenary of the Birth of John Milton, at the First Church in Boston, on December 9, 1908, at four o'clock (a special report by the Committee in charge, republished from the Proceedings, with a reprint of the programme, Boston, 1909).

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society in commemoration of the Tercentenary of the Birth of John Milton, 9 December, 1908 (a reprint from the Proceedings, Cambridge, 1909).

The following list includes historical publications by Resident Members during the past year:

ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS. "The Solid South" and the Afro-American Race Problem. Speech at the Academy of Music, Richmond, Virginia, Saturday evening, 24 October, 1908.

BIGELOW, MELVILLE M., Editor. The Acts and Resolves, public and private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Volume XV.

CHANNING, EDWARD. A History of the United States, Volume II., a Century of Colonial History, 1660–1760.

COOLIDGE, ARCHIBALD CARY. The United States as a World Power.

DAVIS, ANDREW MCFARLAND. Hints of Contemporary Life in the Writings of Thomas Shepard. Reprinted from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XII.

—— John Harvard's Life in America, or social and political life in New England in 1637–1638. Reprinted from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XII.

GREEN, SAMUEL A. Three Historical Addresses at Groton, Massachusetts. With an Appendix.

LONG, JOHN D. Abraham Lincoln, an Address at the Centennial in Symphony Hall, Boston, February 12, 1909.

LOWELL, A. LAWRENCE. The Government of England.

MATTHEWS, ALBERT. The Snake Devices, 1754–1776, and the Constitutional Courant, 1765. Reprinted from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XI.

—— Uncle Sam. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, new series, Volume XIX.

—— Editor. Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Volume X. Transactions, 1904–1906.

PUTNAM, FREDERIC W. Forty-second Report of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 1907–1908.

SHELDON, GEORGE. Fort Ancient, Ohio. Was it a fortress? Read before the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Deerfield, February 23, 1909.

—— The Pathfinder at Marietta, Ohio, in 1888. Reprinted from the Massachusetts Magazine.

STOREY, MOORFIELD. Abraham Lincoln. An address delivered at the Shawmut Congregational Church in Boston, on February 14, 1909.

WARREN, WINSLOW. Commemorative exercises in connection with the erection of a Memorial Tablet to George Sewall Boutwell in Groton Cemetery, May 15, 1908. Poem by William Roscoe Thayer. Address by Mr. Warren.

WENDELL, BARRETT. The Privileged Classes.

The report of the TREASURER, with the report of the Auditing Committee, was presented in print, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1909.

The special funds now held by the Treasurer are twenty-six in number. Of these special funds twenty-two were particularly numbered and described in the Treasurer's report for the year ending March 30, 1907, printed in the Proceedings (third series, I. 6–25). The remaining special funds are numbered and described as follows:

XXIII. THE WATERSTON LIBRARY FUND. Under the will of Rev. Robert C. Waterston the sum of $10,000 was received, to be applied to the fitting up of a room or portion of a fireproof building for the commodious and safe keeping of the Waterston Collection. A room was accordingly set apart for that purpose in the new building, and the larger part of the sum was expended in making it convenient and attractive. The balance of the legacy, now amounting to $3,875.14, is set apart as the Waterston Library Fund, and the income will be used in accordance with the terms of his will in adding books to the collection under the direction of the Council.

XXIV. THE CHAMBERLAIN FUND. Under the will of the late Judge Mellen Chamberlain the Society received from his executors the sum of $10,062.01 as his bequest to this Society to defray the cost of publishing his History of Chelsea. This bequest has been treated as an open account, all payments on account of the history having been charged to it and the interest credited on the unexpended balance. The balance remaining after all the bills were paid was $971.25, and to that sum has been added the sum of $261.08, being the amount received to date from the sale of his History of Chelsea.

In accordance with the opinion of my predecessor, as stated in his last report, this sum of $1,232.33 has been separately funded "as a perpetual memorial of the interest which our honored associate took in the work of the Society."

XXV. THE SALISBURY FUND is a bequest to the Society of $5,000 under the will of the late Hon. Stephen Salisbury, of Worcester, a former associate, received in 1907. The income of this fund is applicable to the general purposes of the Society.

XXVI. THE SANFORD FUND is a bequest of $1,000 received the past year under the will of Hon. John E. Sanford, of Taunton, a former associate. The income of this fund is applicable to the general purposes of the Society.

In addition to these special funds so enumerated there are two special investments, as follows:

1. A deposit book in the Boston Five Cents Savings Bank for $100 and interest, which now amounts to $208.71, which is applicable to the care and preservation of the model of the

Brattle Street Church, deposited with the Society in April, 1877.

2. The second special deposit is the deposit book issued by the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston to Miss Maria Antoinette Parker, February 1, 1821. Including the gifts from our associate member Mr. Thomas Minns, as stated in my last report, the total amount of the fund so deposited is $1,000. The interest on this fund is to be used for the purchase of books for the Library.

These two deposits now appear in the Treasurer's report as Special Investments, and the income received therefrom is not included in the consolidated income.

In addition to the gifts and bequests represented by these funds a detailed account of the numerous gifts which have been made to the Society from time to time, and expended in the purchase of real estate or in promoting the objects for which the Society was organized, was included in the Annual Report of the Treasurer dated March 31, 1887, and printed in the Proceedings (second series, III. 291–296). The Treasurer does not include the detailed statements of these gifts in his report of this year, believing that the reference to the volumes of the Proceedings in which the information respecting them is set forth in full will be sufficient for the purposes of the Society.

The stocks and bonds held by the Treasurer as investments on account of the above-mentioned funds are as follows:

$14,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad Co., due 1921;

$1,000 in a five per cent bond of the Chicago and North Michigan Railroad Co., due 1931;

$5,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Rio Grande Western Railroad Co., due 1939;

$8,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Co., due 1921;

$2,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Co., due 1922;

$4,000 in the three and one-half per cent bonds of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Co., due 1949;

$5,000 in the five per cent gold bonds of the Cincinnati, Dayton, and Ironton Railroad Co., due 1941;

$14,500 in the four per cent mortgage bonds of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co., due 1995;

$9,000 in the adjustment four per cent bonds of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co., due 1995;

$3,000 in the convertible four per cent bonds of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co., due 1955;

$13,000 in the five per cent collateral trust bonds of the Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Co., due 1915;

$10,000 in the five per cent bonds of the Oregon Short Line Railroad Co., due 1946;

$30,000 in the five per cent bonds of the United Zinc and Chemical Co., due 1928, guaranteed;

$10,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Oregon Short Line Railroad Co., due 1929;

$12,000 in the five per cent bonds of the Lewiston-Concord Bridge Co., due 1924;

$6,000 in the four and one-half per cent bonds of the Boston and Maine Railroad Co., due 1944;

$10,000 in the four per cent bonds of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., due 1929;

$50,000 in the four per cent joint bonds of the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. and the Great Northern Railroad Co., due 1921;

$12,000 in the convertible five per cent bonds of the Kansas City Stock Yards Co., due 1913;

$6,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Long Island Railroad Co. due 1949;

$12,000 in the four per cent bonds of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Co., due 1934;

$10,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Bangor and Aroostook Railroad Co., due 1951;

$22,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Co. in Nebraska, due 1910;

$2,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Detroit, Grand Rapids and Western Railroad Co., due 1946;

$9,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Fitchburg Railroad Co., due 1927;

$3,000 in the five per cent bonds of the Kansas City, Clinton and Springfield Railroad Co., due 1925;

$2,000 in the five per cent bonds of the Lowell, Lawrence and Haverhill Street Railway Co., due 1923;

$6,000 in the four per cent bonds of the West End Street Railway Co., due 1915;

$16,000 in the six per cent mortgage notes of G. St. L. Abbott, Trustee;

$3,500 in the mortgage note of A. & C. F. Ammand, guaranteed by Charles F. Adams;

$2,000 in five per cent note of Michigan Central Railroad, due 1910;

$3,000 in five per cent note of American Telephone and Telegraph Co., due 1910;

$5,000 in five per cent note of Pennsylvania Railroad, due 1910;

Fifty shares in the Merchants' National Bank of Boston;

Fifty shares in the State National Bank of Boston;

Fifty shares in the National Bank of Commerce of Boston;

Fifty shares in the National Union Bank of Boston;

Fifty shares in the Second National Bank of Boston;

Twenty-five shares in the National Shawmut Bank of Boston;

Thirty-five shares in the Boston and Albany Railroad Co.;

Twenty-five shares in the Old Colony Railroad Co.;

Twenty-five shares in the preferred stock of the Fitchburg Railroad Co.;

One hundred and fifty shares in the preferred stock of the Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Co.;

One hundred and fifty shares in the preferred stock of the American Smelting and Refining Co.;

One hundred and fifty-eight shares of the preferred stock of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co.;

Three hundred and two shares in the Kansas City Stock Yards Co.;

Ten shares in the Cincinnati Gas and Electric Co., received in exchange for five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co.;

Six shares in the Boston Real Estate Trust (of the par value of $1,000);

Five shares in the State Street Exchange; and

Three shares in the Pacific Mills (of the par value of $1,000).

The net cost of these securities is $439,994.10; but their market value is much higher.

SPECIAL INVESTMENTS.

Maria Antoinette Parker Fund of $1,000 in the Provident Institution for Savings;

Brattle Street Church Model Fund of $100 and interest, $108.71, making a total of $208.71, in the Boston Five Cents Savings Bank.

The trial balance follows, and shows the present condition of the several accounts:

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

1909.		
March 31.	Cash	$18,135.00
	Investments	439,994.10
	Real Estate	97,990.32
	General Account	6,036.52
		$562,155.94

CREDITS.

Building Account	$72,990.32
Ellis House	25,000.00
Anonymous Fund	3,886.01
Appleton Fund	12,203.00
Wm. Amory Fund	3,000.00
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund	2,000.00
Robert C. Billings Fund	10,000.00
Chamberlain Bequest	1,232.33
Dowse Fund	10,000.00
Ellis Fund	31,663.66
Richard Frothingham Fund	3,000.00
General Fund	43,427.43
Lawrence Fund	3,000.00
Lowell Fund	3,000.00
Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund	10,000.00
Peabody Fund	22,123.00
Charlotte A. L. Sibley Fund	22,509.48
John L. Sibley Fund	165,998.51
Savage Fund	6,000.00
Salisbury Fund	5,000.00
Sanford Fund	1,000.00
Waterston Publishing Fund	10,000.00
Waterston Library Fund	3,936.69
Waterston Fund	5,000.00
Waterston Fund No. 2	10,000.00
Thos. L. Winthrop Fund	2,364.66
Robert C. Winthrop Fund	10,000.00
William Winthrop Fund	5,000.00
M. A. Parker Fund, Special Investment	1,000.00
Income of Appleton Fund	5,506.15
Income of William Amory Fund	1,555.73
Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund	730.33
Income of Robert C. Billings Fund	1,836.76
Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	2,496.56
Income of Lawrence Fund	907.56
Income of Lowell Fund	257.35
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund	4,729.71
Income of Peabody Fund	5,638.21
Income of John L. Sibley Fund	17,396.16
Income of Savage Fund	346.49
Income of Waterston Publishing Fund	4,315.13
Income of Waterston Fund	908.75
Income of Waterston Fund No. 2	5,107.83
Income of Robert C. Winthrop Fund	4,815.75
Income of William Winthrop Fund	1,025.57
Income of M. A. Parker Fund	47.48
Income of John E. Sanford Fund	59.30
Income of Thomas L. Winthrop Fund	140.03
	$562,155.94

March 31, 1909.

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

DEBITS.

1909.		
March 31.	To sundry charges and payments:	
	Librarian's Assistants	$2,940.00
	Editor and Assistant	1,335.00
	Editing publications of the Society	420.00
	Engineer and Janitor	1,020.00
	Care of Building	109 10
	Treasurer's Accountant	600 00
	Printing and binding	616.82
	Stationery and postage	313.66
	Light	74.22
	Water	73.00
	Coal and wood	528.25
	Milton Tercentennial Celebration	722 56
	Heater and repairing	77.00
	Repairs on building	3,134.95
	Steel furniture	600.00
	Rent of safety vaults	50 00
	Painting	95.00
	Subscription to American bibliography	50.00
	Public Accountant	25.00
	Treasurer's bond	25.00
	Miscellaneous expenses	575.37
		$13, 384.93
	Balance old account	28.61
		$13,413.54

CREDITS.

1909.		
March 31.	By sundry receipts:	
	Interest	$34.44
	Sales of publications	753.25
	Income of Dowse Fund	593.00
	Income of Ellis Fund	1,877.66
	Income of General Fund	2,576.05
	Income of Salisbury Fund	474.84
	Income of C. A. L. Sibley Fund	1,067.78
	Balance brought down	6,036.52
		$13,413.54

CASH ACCOUNTS.

DEBITS.

1908.		
March 31.	Balance on hand	$2,931.91
1909.		
March 31.	Receipts as follows:	
	Consolidated income from investments	23,920.77
	Received account of J. E. Sanford Fund	1,000.00
	Received investments matured	35,209.79
	General account and sales	1,048.17
		$64,110.64

1909.	CREDITS.	
March 31.	By payments as follows:	
	Investments	$25,843.62
	General Account	13,384.93
	Paid account of incomes:	
	Appleton Fund	65.07
	E. B. Bigelow Fund	68.50
	Chamberlain Bequest	2,155.04
	Peabody Fund	20.25
	C. A. L. Sibley Fund	267 08
	J. L. Sibley Fund	1,932.22
	Savage Fund	133.02
	Waterston Publishing Fund	1,372.58
	Waterston Library Fund	168 25
	Waterston Fund	429.88
	William Winthrop Fund	135 20
	Balance cash on hand	18,135.00
		$64,110.64

The income for the year derived from the investments and credited to the several funds in proportion to the amount in which they stand on the Treasurer's books was nearly six per cent.

The present condition of the Society is shown in detail in the foregoing statements and abstracts; but it may be convenient to give the summary in a single sentence. The real estate, which is entirely unincumbered, stands on the books at $97,990.32, but is valued by the city assessors at $196,000.

The aggregate amount of the twenty-six permanent funds is $402,571.66, which, together with unexpended balances and income, is represented by stocks and bonds costing $439.994.10 and by $18,135 in cash. The increase in the funds of the Society over the amount reported in the report of the Treasurer for last year is $10,279.38, which is made up of the $1,000 received under the will of John E. Sanford and of the unexpended income of the past year of $9,279.38.

ARTHUR LORD,
Treasurer.

BOSTON, April 1, 1909.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1909, have attended to that

duty, and report that they find that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report.

They have engaged the services of Mr. Henry A. Piper, a public accountant, who reports to them that he finds the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for, and that the trial balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

S. Lothrop Thorndike,
Thomas Minns, } *Committee.*

Boston, April 2, 1909.

The Librarian read his report:

Report of the Librarian.

During the year there have been added to the Library:

Books	514
Pamphlets	1186
Bound volumes of newspapers	26
Unbound volumes of newspapers	33
Broadsides	21
Maps	5
Manuscripts	85
Bound volumes of manuscripts	30
In all	1900

Of the volumes added, 341 have been given, 106 bought, and 123 formed by binding. Of the pamphlets added, 899 have been given, 281 bought, and 6 procured by exchange.

From the income of the Savage Fund there have been bought 18 volumes and 199 pamphlets; and 34 volumes, containing 173 pamphlets, have been bound at the charge of the same fund.

From the income of the John Langdon Sibley Fund there have been bought 17 volumes, 5 pamphlets, and 1 manuscript, all relating to Harvard College; and 7 volumes of early imprints have been bound and 2 volumes repaired at the charge of the same fund. From the Charlotte A. L. Sibley Fund there have been bought 68 volumes, 77 pamphlets, and 1 manuscript; and 9 volumes, to contain manuscripts, and

1 volume, relating to the Tremont Street building of the Society, have been bound at the charge of the same fund.

From the income of the William Winthrop Fund there have been bound 62 volumes, containing 298 pamphlets, and 34 volumes have been repaired at the charge of the fund.

From the income of the Erastus B. Bigelow Fund, 1 volume has been bought and 6 volumes of newspapers have been bound. From the income of the General Fund 4 volumes have been bound.

From the income of the Dowse Fund there have been bought 2 volumes. According to entries made in the printed catalogue of the Dowse Library, when the books were received in 1856, three volumes were missing. Of these the volumes bought furnish two of the missing titles and have been placed on the shelves.

In the collection of manuscripts there are now 1244 volumes, 192 unbound volumes, 108 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 15,210 manuscripts.

Of the books added to the Rebellion department, 16 volumes have been given and 16 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 14 have been given and 29 bought. There are now in the collection 3229 volumes, 6165 pamphlets, 489 broadsides, and 110 maps.

A bookplate has been made for the Waterston Library by Mr. Sidney Lawton Smith, and impressions have already been placed in about one half of the collection.

Under the authority of the Council, the land-title books, fifty-five volumes in all, bequeathed to the Society by Nathaniel I. Bowditch, by his will proved April 27, 1861, are to remain with his nephew, Mr. Frederick C. Bowditch, until such time as either the Society or Mr. Bowditch wishes to end the agreement. Meanwhile the Society has the privilege of using the volumes in his office at all proper times.

The Library now contains 50,947 volumes, 111,980 pamphlets, and 4776 broadsides.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN,
Librarian.

April 8, 1909.

The CABINET-KEEPER submitted his report:

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER.

The following additions to the Cabinet have been received during the past year:

Six political "tokens" [1]; a print of "The Scotch Victory," inscribed "To the E—l of [Bute] Protector of our Liberties &c this Plate is Humbly Inscribed by L. Junius Brutus" [2]; and a printed handkerchief commemorating the death of Washington.[2] Given by Samuel S. Shaw.

Bird's Eye View of "Twentieth Century Boston," by Bert Poole, 1907, published by the City of Boston Publicity and Information Bureau. Given by Samuel A. Green, M.D.

A colored sketch of Fort Wagner, drawn by Henry Webber, adjutant in the 7th Regiment New Hampshire Volunteers, who was wounded in the attack on the fort. Given by Owen Bryant.

A heliotype of Captain John Linzee,[3] of the Royal Navy, who commanded the sloop-of-war "Falcon" at the Battle of Bunker Hill. Given by Francis H. Brown, M.D.

An enlarged heliotype portrait of Captain John Linzee,[3] from the one mentioned above. Given by John Collins Warren, M.D.

An oil painting, by Gilbert Stuart Newton, of Hon. Stephen Higginson,[4] whose son, Stephen Higginson, Jr., was a member of this Society for nearly ten years. The original painting by Gilbert Stuart is owned by George Higginson, of Lenox. Given by Edward Higginson.

An oil painting of Hon. James Sullivan,[5] first President of the Society from 1791 to 1806, painted by Gilbert Stuart in 1807. Bequest of Richard Sullivan.

A scrap-book containing a collection of 419 Rebellion envelopes, issued in the year 1861. Given by Miss Lucy Sprague Sampson.

Two medals,[6] one of Independence Hall, Philadelphia, and the other of the Pan American Exposition at Buffalo in 1901. Given by Grenville H. Norcross.

A photographic enlargement of the half-tone likeness of John Milton [7] from which the cut in the programme of the Tercentenary of his birth, on December 9, 1908, and in the special report of the commemoration, was made. This framed picture stood in the chancel of the

[1] 3 Proceedings, i. 450; [2] 452.

[3] See *ante*, 1; and Proceedings of the Bunker Hill Monument Association for June 17, 1908, where it appears as an insert.

[4] This was formally presented at the November meeting by T. W. Higginson, our associate member, a grandson. See *ante*, 15, 16.

[5] At the time of its receipt, the November meeting, a descriptive statement was made by Dr. Green. See *ante*, 16, 17.

[6] See *ante*, 15; [7] 48, 68.

First Church during the exercises on that occasion, and was prepared for this purpose under the direction of the committee of arrangements.

Three original drawings in ink and pencil:

I. "View of Charles Town from Copse-Hill Battery. 25 Nov. 1775," drawn by "S. Biggs, Marines";

II. "View of Boston Lines," apparently by the same officer, though not signed;

III. "(1) Charles Town & Entrenchment on the Heights. (2) The Rebels Redoubt & Entrench^{t} y^{e} 17th June since demolish'd. (3) The diff^{t} Lines & Works of the Rebels. (4) Our Works &c. The Rebels . . . taken Nov. 28th, 1775," by an officer on the British side. Bought from the income of the Waterston Fund.

Respectfully submitted,
GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS,
Cabinet-Keeper.

BOSTON, April 8, 1909.

Mr. SWIFT read the report of the Committee appointed to examine the Library and Cabinet:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND CABINET.

Every facility for full examination has been courteously extended to your Committee by Dr. Green, the Librarian, his assistants, and by Mr. Norcross, the Cabinet-Keeper. Some of the observations that we shall make have already been made in previous reports, while some others have presented themselves freshly to us as worthy of note, and we therefore bring them to the attention of the Society, because we believe that such a report as this should be made in good faith and not as a mere matter of routine.

The Library, as it stands, seems to be in good condition and scrupulously cared for. The 51,000 volumes and 112,000 pamphlets are arranged, for the most part, on fire-proof (ordinarily speaking) shelves, and well protected from the usual enemies of books, excessive heat and dust. The valuable work of protecting ancient newspapers by inserting them, scrap-book style, between large manilla sheets, and then binding them in a strong, uncostly way, goes on satisfactorily. We hope that this improved method of preserving all files of early Boston newspapers will be diligently continued.

We notice that the wooden presses, to which attention has

already been called in preceding reports, still remain. The Committee will fall short of its obligation if it fails to remind the Society that this perishable furniture is a menace to property which is really held as a sort of trust for future generations. A fire is always a possibility, and prudence suggests that means should be taken to reduce this possibility to a minimum, and to remove from the Library as far as practicable all combustible material. We therefore hope that the Society will see its way to secure estimates for the installation of steel shelves to replace these threatening and cumbrous presses. As far as we can see, the manuscripts rest securely, though it may be a question whether, in consideration of the great value of these collections, they ought not eventually to find lodgment in a safe large enough to hold them and the other greater treasures of the collection.

The condition of the reserve and duplicate rooms is most gratifying. Cleanliness and order, unusual in such out-of-the-way places, affect one agreeably. Here will be found many volumes which might be disposed of advantageously to other institutions by gift, sale, or exchange, or in any other suitable way, — but disposed of. We are in full accord with the President's forcible remarks on this matter as printed in the Proceedings for October, 1908, page 5. In an examination of the older portion of the Library we find, among other similar material, some one hundred and fifty copies of "Massachusetts and its Early History," published by the Society about forty years ago. Not more than a small number of libraries of this State have ever received copies of this excellent work, and we suggest that the Society would do well to present a considerable portion of the remaining copies to such Massachusetts libraries as can really use them. We noticed, also, some piles of duplicates of old numbers of magazines, — for instance, the North American Review. When a library already has a file, such duplicates are of no value and may properly be thrown away, or sent to dealers who can make use of such material. They have no utility whatever, present or future.

From a purely business point of view, it would be profitable to organize a careful system of exchange of old newspaper duplicates, for it would thus be possible to secure numbers wanted for our files and at the same time rid ourselves of slowly perishing material. It may be, however, that valuable

newspaper duplicates will so increase in value by holding for some years that they may be eventually sold for a considerable sum; this sum might properly be funded with the end in view of devoting the income particularly to the care and acquisition of early newspapers.

This Society is indeed fortunate in having fairly distinct limitations to its aims, for it may properly rid itself of or refuse to accumulate books not properly germane to its purpose. But to discard should be only a part of the policy of growing stronger. It is evident to the Committee that more books of a general sort, necessary to historical investigations, are a real need. For instance, if we are to have Mr. Bryce's and Mr. Lowell's books on government, we also need the works of Dr. Stubbs. The commoner and the greater books should be here, for they are indeed only the kitchen utensils of good scholarly housekeeping. It is probably safe to trust to a kind future for the acquisition by gift — the true means of growth for such a library — of the older and more costly works, but the present-day tools of trade should be bought, since they are not so likely to be given. An increment of only five hundred volumes a year, even when dependent upon gifts alone, is small for an institution of this importance.

One feature of the Library — the Card Catalogue — deserves mention because, like other useful things, it is too often taken for granted. It comprises about 150,000 cards, containing entries of the books, by authors, subjects, and occasionally titles. With every temptation to expand these titles bibliographically, owing to the rarity and interest of many of the books, the Librarian and his assistants have wisely contented themselves with brevity and condensation. As a result they have compressed a vast deal of information into a remarkably small compass in comparison with the practice of other large libraries. The Boston Public Library, for instance, requires about 1,800 running feet of cards to contain its titles of about 800,000 volumes, while the Society's catalogue requires only about 160 running feet for nearly one fifth as many volumes, — a gain in space of considerable magnitude, practically a saving of more than half the space proportionately to the relative size of the two libraries. The cards of the Civil-War collection, as well as the books themselves, are kept separately, and represent a choice and useful possession.

Your Committee shares the desires of the Cabinet-Keeper to make his treasures more valuable and useful by giving them more room. A proper display is impossible at present in the main exhibition room, which, through the fault of no one, has the appearance of an over-crowded shop, more inviting to the historic imagination of a Hawthorne than to present-day visitors. We hope that the plan of Mr. Norcross for an extension of this room will eventually receive the attention it deserves. Such an addition, with a lighted top or dome, would give a chance to display the Society's oil portraits to advantage. At present they are sadly deprived of proper light and distance, though in some few cases obscurity is not undesirable. Your Committee does not hesitate to call attention to the fact that were some of the more popular curiosities — for such they are — and some of the better pictures removed from this crowded room and displayed in Ellis Hall during the summer months, when few members are in town and when visitors most abound, the Society would be doing a serviceable thing to this community and to the strangers who flock eastward to see just such memorials of our past.

If the Society should ever welcome into its ranks a member qualified to take charge, under the general control of the Cabinet-Keeper, of the small but excellent collection of coins and medals, this detached but not unimportant feature would be in better case.

Your Committee now closes this report with the conviction that the Society would lose nothing of its prestige and relinquish no hold on the honorable trust imposed upon it and observed so long and so faithfully, if, unaffected by sensational methods, it were gradually to expand its usefulness to the end that it may stand in public opinion as necessarily conservative, yet ready to bear its part in helpful service to this community.

Respectfully submitted,

LINDSAY SWIFT,
EDWARD H. CLEMENT,
FREDERIC WINTHROP,
Committee.

Mr. PAINE, for the Committee to nominate Officers, presented a list of names for the ensuing year, and the following gentlemen were elected:

For President.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

For Vice-Presidents.
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.
JAMES FORD RHODES.

For Recording Secretary.
EDWARD STANWOOD.

For Corresponding Secretary.
HENRY WILLIAMSON HAYNES.

For Treasurer.
ARTHUR LORD.

For Librarian.
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

For Cabinet-Keeper.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

For Members at Large of the Council.
ROGER B. MERRIMAN.
MELVILLE M. BIGELOW.
EDWIN D. MEAD.
JOHN D. LONG.
WALDO LINCOLN.

Dr. Green having been chosen to two offices, William R. Livermore, on motion of Mr. Paine, was elected an additional member of the Council to make the number thirteen.

Dr. EVERETT then read a letter to his father, Hon. Edward Everett, as chairman of the committee to procure the statue of Joseph Warren, by Edward F. Sise, dated at Portsmouth, May 27, 1857, enclosing for his acceptance a manuscript. This manuscript, which was printed in 1775, Dr. Everett presented to the Society.

There were two issues made of this "Oration" at the time. The one, in a quarto, of nine pages, believed to have come from the originators of the event and therefore of Tory or loyal origin, has the following title, "An Oration delivered March Fifteenth, 1775. At the Request of a Number of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston. By Dr Thomas Bolton. . . . Printed in the Year, M,DCC,LXXV."

A second issue, in octavo, of eight pages, has an explanatory

"Advertisement," on the *verso* of the titlepage, in which it is stated that "in ridicule of the anniversary [March 5, when Dr. Warren delivered the oration], . . . The officers of the army and the tories of the town proposed another annual meeting on the 15th of March, with the delivery of an oration — Wherein the forms of that of the 5th were to be imitated, burlesqued, and ridiculed. The following is the impudent oration delivered on that occasion." This pamphlet was issued after June 17 probably by persons opposed to the loyalists. Both pamphlets are in the Library of the Boston Athenæum, and contain at the end "The Boston Whig-Maker" in verse.

The manuscript states that the "Oration" was delivered "from the Coffee house"; and according to the "Letters and Diary of John Rowe," page 290, under date of March 15, 1775, it was read "from M^rs^ Cordis' Balcony," which was probably the same place. Sabin, in his "Dictionary of Books relating to America" (II. 270) under the title of the "Oration," says, "This oration was delivered from the balcony of the British Coffee-House, by a gentleman disguised, to a crowded audience of officers, Tories, etc., in ridicule of that delivered by Dr. Warren."

Mr. NORCROSS exhibited a copy of the first edition of Milton's "Paradise Lost," dated 1667, containing a titlepage different from any heretofore described, of which a fac-simile is given. He said:

In the will of Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, dated March 11, 1859, and proved in Norfolk County Probate Court, April 27, 1861, the 22d item reads: "To my brother William I. Bowditch, who is a great admirer of Milton, I give my copy of Milton's Paradise Lost, the original edition of A. D. 1667."

William Ingersoll Bowditch died at Brookline, January 24, 1909, and this book is loaned to me by Frederick C. Bowditch, the executor of his will. The book has the bookplate of N. I. Bowditch, his signature and date 1844, and contains the titlepage and poem only. This titlepage is the same as that described in a recent bibliography as the "eighth binding of the first edition,"[1] with the very important exception of the

[1] Milton Tercentenary, the Portraits, Prints and Writings of John Milton exhibited at Christ's College, Cambridge, 1908.

Paradiſe loſt.

A

POEM

IN

TEN BOOKS.

The Author

JOHN MILTON.

LONDON,

Printed by *S. Simmons,* and are to be ſold by *T. Helder,* at the *Angel* in *Little Brittain,*
1667.

date, which is two years earlier, — the year of the first issue of the poem.

This copy disproves the statement made in several of the catalogues that the name of S. Simmons first appears as the printer on the titlepage in the issue of 1668, of which this Society has two copies, in the Dowse Library and the Waterston Collection.

Mr. FORD submitted some facts bearing on the authorship of "New Englands First Fruits":

In 1643 there was published in England a tract of twenty-six pages bearing the following title:

Nevv | Englands | First Fruits; | in respect, |
First of the { Conversion of some, / Conviction of divers, / Preparation of sundry, } of the *Indians.* |

2. Of the progresse of *Learning*, in the Colledge at | Cambridge, in *Massacusets* Bay. | With | Divers other speciall Matters concerning that Countrey. | Published by the instant request of sundry Friends, who desire | to be satisfied in these points by many *New-England* Men | who are here present, and were Eye or Eare- | witnesses of the same. . . . London, | Printed by *R. O* and *G. D.* for *Henry Overton*, and are to be | sold at his Shop in Popes-head-Alley. 1643.

The first section (pp. 1–11, there are numerous mispagings) is devoted to "New Englands First Fruits: 1. In respect of the Indians, &c." and was not reprinted by the Society in 1792 (1 Collections I. 242). If a conjecture can be made as to the authorship of this particular part, I would assign it to Henry Dunster. Considering the intentions of the original Company to make the conversion of the Indians a leading feature of their undertaking, there is a strange silence on the subject in the records, both as to methods, agents and results. In fact one of the complaints made against the Colony was its neglect of the religious condition of the natives. The Indians themselves were surprised, and expressed themselves on that point. Thirteen years after Winthrop had landed, the application of some Indians to be taken under the protection of the English led to framing some general conditions, to which the natives were to subscribe, and in 1644 the General Court took

action towards civilizing the Indians within its jurisdiction and instructing them in religion.[1] The Elders were then called upon to give their views of what should be done,[2] and near the close of 1646, two ministers were to be chosen every year by the Elders of the churches to go, with any who would freely offer themselves, among the Indians and in most familiar manner, by the help of some able interpreter, teach and convert them. This was the origin of Eliot's mission, though he may already have engaged in it without such recognition from the General Court. For he is said to have studied the Indian language for two years before he preached in the native tongue, making use of an Indian who had served as a servant in an English house.[3] Thus it was not until towards the end of 1646 that we have definite information of Eliot's work. Even if an allowance is made of the two years needed to master the language, it would still be too late for Eliot to be concerned in preparing the "First Fruits."

It is supposed that John Wilson was associated with Eliot in his first missionary journey;[4] but we have no evidence of Wilson's being so interested in the work as to have actively engaged in it. Apart from him there is no name that immediately suggests itself.[5] But Lechford published his "Plain Dealing" in 1642, and he there states:

> Master Henry Dunster, Schoolmaster of Cambridge, deserves commendations above many; he hath the plat-forme and way of conversion of the Natives, indifferent right, and much studies the same, wherein

[1] November 19, 1644.

[2] October 1, 1645.

[3] This Indian was living in 1649. Eliot then said: "There is an Indian living with Mr. Richard Calicott, of Dorchester, who was taken in the Pequott Warres, though belonging to Long Island; this Indian is ingenious, can read; and I taught him to write, which he quickly learnt, though I know not what use he now maketh of it: He was the first that I made use of to teach me words, and to be my Interpreter." — Winslow, The Glorious Progresse of the Gospel, 19.

Mr. Charles Deane falls into an error when he interprets Wood ("New England's Prospect," ch. xviii.) as referring to Eliot, when he speaks of "one of the English Preachers" who had spent much time in attaining to the language of the Indians. Wood left the country in 1633, and published his book in 1634; he was thus writing at least ten years before Eliot began to study the language and some three years before the Pequot war.

[4] Palfrey, ii. 190.

[5] Edward Jackson, who came to the colony in 1643, is closely connected with the reporting of Eliot's talks with the Indians; but we cannot connect him with any earlier meetings, of a like character.

yet he wants not opposition, as some other also have met with: He will, without doubt prove an instrument of much good in the Countrey, being a good Scholar, and having skil in the Tongues; He will make it good, that the way to instruct the Indians, must be in their owne language, not English; and that their language may be perfected.[1]

Inasmuch as the second part of the tract is concerned with the college, Dunster must have supplied material and may have prepared the statement. This part is signed "Your very loving friends" and is dated from "Boston, in New England, September the 26, 1642." This manner of signing does not preclude the possibility of the report being the work of one man. Welde, writing from London on the progress of his mission, addresses his letter to "Much Honored, and Reverend, Fathers and Brethren."[2] The overseers of the college named in the first printed copy of the Theses (1642), were John Cotton, John Wilson, John Davenport, Thomas Welde, Hugh Peter, and Thomas Shepard.[3] It was very likely that the section on the college was prepared by Dunster and signed by the overseers, or a committee of them — two of the six being abroad, and to that board or committee Welde reported.

A third part gives an account of some of the remarkable advantages offered to settlers by New England. It is written in the first person plural, and displays an intimate personal knowledge of the actual conditions and recent events in Massachusetts Bay. I was particularly struck with the paragraphs relating to the Pequot war and the antinomian troubles, which may be quoted:

4. In giving us such peace and freedome from enemies, when almost almost all the world is on a fire that (excepting that short trouble with the Pequits) we never heard of any sound of Warres to this day. And in that Warre which we made against them Gods hand from heaven was so manifested, that a very few of our men, in a short time, pursued through the Wildernesse, slew and took prisoners about 1400 of them, even all they could find, to the great terrour and amazement of all the Indians to this day: so that the name of the Pequits (as of *Amaleck*) is blotted out from under heaven, there being not one that is, or, (at least) dare call himselfe a Pequit.

5. In subduing those erronious opinions carryed over from hence by

[1] Page 53. See 4 Collections, i. 251.

[2] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxvi. 39.

[3] New England's First Fruits, 18.

some of the Passengers, which for a time infested our Churches peace but (through the goodness of God) by conference preaching, a generall assembly of learned men, Magistrates timely care, and lastly, by Gods own hand from heaven, in most remarkable stroaks upon some of the chief fomenters of them; the matter came to such an happie conclusion, that most of the seduced came humbly and confessed their Errours in our publique Assemblies and abide to this day constant in the Truth; the rest (that remained obstinate) finding no fit market there to vent their wares, departed from us to an Iland farre off; some of whom also since that time have repented and returned to us, and are received againe into our bosomes. And from that time not any unsound, unsavourie and giddie fancie have dared to lift up his head, or abide the light among us (p. 21).

The paragraph numbered 5 gives the strong bias of the writers in favor of the administration of the colony, and on a question or dispute of nearly five years' standing. They refer to the troubles arising from the case of Mrs. Hutchinson, and show a familiarity with the events that followed her banishment. This tract appeared one year before the "Short Story," in which the Hutchinson trial was given in such detail, and while it could have been compiled by the college overseers, I am strongly of the belief that it was written in England, and I see no reason for doubting that it was prepared by either Hugh Peter or Thomas Welde, both of whom had taken an active share in the proceedings against Mrs. Hutchinson, and were at this time in England.[1] The paragraph expresses what a firm supporter of the conduct of the so-called trial and the sentence would say, and brief as it is, the statement contains everything necessary to justify the suppression of "erroneous opinions."

Having narrowed the question down to two probable writers,

[1] It is possible to read into some of the phrases of this section of the "First Fruits" the preparation of it in England, and the fact that the writer had some knowledge of Holland. The cold of New England is said to be "not a moist and foggie cold as in Holland, and some parts of England" (p. 25). In reply to the objection that "many are grown weaker in their estates since they went over," it is said "Are not diverse in London broken in their Estates?"; and 8th objection reads "Why doe many come away from thence?" and in the reply "hither" is used (p. 26). Finally, the sending of poor children and of servants and instruments to work the iron mines is mentioned. John Winthrop, the younger, returned to New England in 1643, with money and workmen to start iron works. — Winthrop, ii. 212. It will be recalled that he accompanied the commissioners to England in 1641.

further evidence may be sought in another direction. The statement of the advantages offered by the colony soon passes from numbered reasons to a series of "objections" and "answers." Welde's "Innocency Cleared" is cast in the same form.[1] On the titlepage of the "First Fruits" we read "Published by the instant request," etc.; and the titlepage of the "Short Story" imitates the language thus: "Published at the instant request of sundry, by one that was an eye and ear-witnesse of the carriage of matters there." The two titlepages are both very long, and on much the same model, and each contains two quotations from Scripture, naturally different by reason of the subjects treated in the books. Lastly, comparing the words on the Hutchinson matter used in the "First Fruits" with those on the titlepage of the "Short Story" this parallel results:

"First Fruits"	"Short Story"
. . . by a general assembly of learned men, Magistrates timely care, and lastly, by Gods own hand from heaven, in most remarkable stroaks upon some of the chief fomenters of them . . .	. . . by the Assembly of Ministers there: As also of the Magistrates proceedings in Court against them. Together with Gods strange and remarkable judgments from Heaven upon some of the chief fomenters . . .

I conclude that Thomas Welde and Hugh Peter were the authors of the third part of the "First Fruits," and that Welde was more active in its preparation and printing than Peter.

In making this excursion into conjectures I took off the names of printers and publishers in England who were active in putting forth the various religious and controversial tracts written by New Englanders, and appearing from the press between the years 1642 and 1646. The Massachusetts court in 1645 passed its vote recalling its agents, but neither Welde nor Peter ever returned to America. This naturally limits the period to be covered, and the field was further limited to such publications as were on the side of New England's policy in church or state. The result surprised me by showing to what degree the publication was in a comparatively few names. It is not

[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxvi. 67.

impossible that the larger number of those publications passed through the hands of Peter and Welde. A great reason for this activity was the dispute raging in England over religious toleration, and in this controversy the two New Englanders were very active.[1]

Peter, Welde, and Hibbins reached England in the fall of 1641. In that year three tracts of Cotton's (not counting his "Abstract of the Laws") were issued in London, one of them without a printer's name. His "Way of Life" was printed by M. F. for L. Fawne and S. Gellibrand, and his "God's Mercie mixed with Ivstice," by G. M. for Edward Brewster, and Henry Hood. William Hooke's "New England's Teares" was twice printed, once by E. G. and again by T. P.[2] and in each case, for John Rothwell and Henry Overton. Peter also printed his "Milke for Babes and Meat for Men" by E. P. for J. W. Arber's "Stationer's Register," shows that Overton published from 1629, and he put forth many religious works, notably sermons of Dr. John Stoughton. In this last undertaking (1639) Ralph Smith was one of his associates.

Beginning with 1642 and continuing through 1646, we find publications by Cotton, Huit, Richard Mather, Welde, Phillips, Hooke, Hooker, and Winslow, all New England men. Of the nineteen titles noted, eleven were printed for Henry Overton. One of Welde's and the only issue by Peter were published by Overton, and the second tract of Welde ("Short Story") was printed for Ralph Smith, who, as has been shown, was associated with Overton. Second in importance was Matthew Simmons, and third was Benjamin Allen, whose widow printed some of the so-called Indian tracts. This is a feature of the bibliography of that period which has not yet been studied. The following are the nineteen titles:

COTTON, JOHN. The Churches Resurrection. 1642. Printed by R. O. and G. D. for Henry Overton.

[1] See C. F. Adams, Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 26 *et seq.*

[2] Arber's invaluable "Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640," prints the Second Star Chamber Decree regulating Printing, July 11, 1637, in which are named the "Twentie Master Printers" who were to be permitted to ply this trade. As there was little change between 1637 and 1640 it is safe to assign the following names to the initials just given in the text: Miles Flesher (1617–1640), George Miller (1618–1640), Edward Griffin (1637–1640), and Thomas Purslow (1637–).

G. D. was probably Gregory Dexter, who printed Roger Williams' "Key into the Language of America," in 1643. R. O. was Richard Oulton.

COTTON, JOHN. The Powring ovt of the Seven Vials: 1642. Printed for R. S. and are to be sold by H. Overtons shop in Popes-head Alley.

"To the Christian Reader," signed, I. H.

Reissued in 1646, with same printer and seller. R. S. was probably Ralph Smith, printer of Welde's "Short Story," in 1644.

COTTON, JOHN. A Modest and Cleare Answer to Mr. Ball's Discourse of set formes of Prayer. 1642. Printed by R. O. and G. D. for Henry Overton, in Popes Head Alley.

HUIT, EPHRAIM [Pastor to the church at Windsor in New-England.] The Whole Prophecie of ~~David~~ Daniel explained. 1643. Printed for Henry Overton, and are to be sold at his Shop, entering into Popes-head Alley.

MATHER, RICHARD. Church-Government and Church-Covenant discussed. 1643. Printed by R. O. and G. D. for Benjamin Allen, and are to be sold at his Shop in Popeshead-Alley.

"To the Reader," by Hugh Peter.

[MATHER, RICHARD.] An Apologie of the Churches in New England for Chvrch-Covenant. 1643. Printed by T. P. and M[atthew] S[immons] for Benjamin Allen.

New England's First Fruits. 1643. Printed by R. O. and G. D. for Henry Overton, and are to be sold at his Shop in Popes-head-Alley.

COTTON, JOHN. The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven. 1644. Printed by M. Simmons for Henry Overton.

MATHER, RICHARD. A Modest and Brotherly Answer to Mr. Charles Herle his Book. 1644. Printed for Henry Overton.

A Paraenetick or Humble Addresse to the Parliament and Assembly for (not loose, but) Christian Libertie. 1644. Printed by Matthew Simmons for Henry Overton, in Popes-Head-Alley.

Attributed to Roger Williams. Three of his books were issued in this year without name of printers, and two of these were issued without name of author.

WELDE, THOMAS. An Answer to W. R[athband]. 1644. Printed by Thomas Paine for H. Overton, and are to be sold at his shop entering into Popes-Head Alley out of Lumbard-Streete.

[WELDE, THOMAS]. A Short Story of the Rise, reign and ruine of the Antinomians, &c. 1644. Printed for Ralph Smith at the signe of the Bible in Cornhill neare the Royall Exchange.

A Brief Narration of the Practices of the Churches in New England. 1645. Matthew Simmons for John Rothwell, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Sunne, in Pauls Church-yard.

COTTON, JOHN. The way of the Churches of Christ in New England. 1645. Printed by Matthew Simmons, in Aldersgate-Streete.

HOOKE, WILLIAM. New-England's Sence of Old England and Irelands Sorrowes. 1645. Printed for John Rothwell.

HOOKER, THOMAS. A briefe Exposition of the Lords Prayer. 1645. Printed by Moses Belle for Benjamine Allen, and are to be sold at his shop in Popes-head Alley at the signe of the Crowne.

PHILLIPS, GEORGE [of Watertown, Mass.]. A Reply to a Confutation of Some Grounds for Infants Baptisme. 1645. Printed by M. Simmons for H. Overton.

"To the Reader," by Thomas Shepard. Shepard's "New England's Lamentation for Old England's present Errors," was printed in 1645 by George Miller; and his "Day Breaking," in 1647, by Richard Cotes for Fulk Clifton. Clifton was seller of Hooker's "Soules Implantation" printed in 1640 by R. Young.

WINSLOW, EDWARD. Hypocrisie Vnmasked. 1646. Printed by Richard Cotes for John Bellamy at the three Golden Lions in Cornhill, neare the Royall Exchange.

The same printer and publisher issued his "New England's Salamander" in 1647. In this latter year Cotton's "Bloudy Tenent washed" and "Singing of Psalms on Gospel-Ordinance" were printed by Matthew Simmons for Hannah Allen; but his "Grovnds and Ends of the Baptisme of the Children of the Faithfull" was printed by R[ichard] C[otes] for Andrew Crooke, "at the Sign of the Green Dragon in Pauls-churchyard."

PETER, HUGH. Mr. Peters Last Report of the English Wars. 1646. Printed by M[atthew] S[immons] for H. Overton.

Mr. FORD also submitted two papers on the incident of defacing the ensign in 1634, at Salem:

In November, 1634, complaint was made to the Court of Assistants that the ensign at Salem had been defaced by cutting out one part of the red cross. Ensign Richard Davenport was thereupon directed to appear at the next Court with his colors, and with "any other" that hath defaced the said colors.[1] Winthrop says:

Much matter was made of this, as fearing it would be taken as an act of rebellion, or of like nature, in defacing the king's colors; though the truth were, it was done upon this opinion, that the red cross was given to the king of England by the pope, as an ensign of victory, and so a superstitious thing, and a relique of anti christ.[2]

[1] Colonial Records, i. 133. [2] Winthrop, i. *146.

James Cudworth, writing to England from Scituate, in December, 1634, took the matter in all seriousness, thus:

One thinge I canot but relate and that not only with grefe for and with feare of what will bee the event of a strange thinge put in practice by sum in the Church of Salem but by whome I heare not and that is they have cut out the Crose in the flage or Ansient that they Cari before them when they treyne, inded it is contrary to the mindes and willes of all that I cann heare of. Captaine Indicot there Captaine is a holy honest man and dus utterly abandon it and who are the Aegeentes in it I cannot heare.[1]

As no Court was held in the three winter months, the subject did not come before the magistrates till March, 1635. In the meantime all the ministers except Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich, were asked by the magistrates to give an opinion on the lawfulness of carrying the cross in the banners. The opinion was so divided that a decision was deferred.[2] The General Court was no less incapable of coming to a conclusion upon the matter. Endecott was called to answer for defacing the cross; but "because the Court could not agree about the thing, whether the ensigns should be laid by, in regard that many refused to follow them," the cause was deferred, and in the meantime all ensigns should be laid aside.[3] In the margin of the Court records is noted "Mr. Endicott censure," but no censure was passed upon him. The resolution speaks of the "act of Mr. Endicott" in altering the cross,[4] thus fixing the responsibility, in spite of what Dr. Cudworth says.

In the May Court Endecott was dropped from the magistrates, and a committee of thirteen was named to report upon his offence. This committee was named by each town's choosing one, and the magistrates four. A report was made an hour or two after, and, as given in the Colony Records, came to this end:

. . . they apprehend hee had offended therein many wayes, in rashnes, vncharitablenes, indiscrecõn, and exceeding the lymitts of his calling; wherevpon the Court hath sensured him to be sadly admonished for his offence, w^{ch} accordingly he was, and also disinabled for bearing any office in the comon wealth, for the space of a yeare nexte ensueing.[5]

[1] Historical Collections, Essex Institute, ix. pt. ii. 85.
[2] Winthrop, i. *154; [3] *156.
[4] Colonial Records, i. 137.
[5] Colonial Records, i. 146. The names of the committee are given on page 145.

Winthrop is a little more full in defining some of the adjectives used:

. . . rash and without discretion, taking upon him more authority than he had, and not seeking advice of the court, etc.; uncharitable, in that he, judging the cross, etc., to be a sin, did content himself to have reformed it at Salem, not taking care that others might be brought out of it also; laying a blemish also upon the rest of the magistrates, as if they would suffer idolatry, etc., and giving occasion to the state of England to think ill of us; . . . [here follows the sentence] declining any heavier sentence, because they were persuaded he did it out of tenderness of conscience, and not of any evil intent.[1]

Here ended the incident so far as the Colony records are concerned. Among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum (No. 4888, folio 86) is a paper which from its catalogue title I supposed to be a satirical skit upon the matter. Upon reading it I found that it soon drops the tone of the introductory portion, and becomes a plain summary of the arguments on either side of the question. From this I should judge that the first part was added by some one in England, and this is partially confirmed by the note which attributes the defacing of the standard to Sir Henry Vane, a mistake that no New Englander could have committed. This Harleian manuscript is now printed for the first time.

The second part of y^e^ Frier's case mentiond and recited in the Roman Horsleech, or an Account of an as famous and Rideculous Action and Dispute that Happend in New England about y^e^ year 1633 whether y^e^ Red Cross in the Banner of England was an Idol or no, with y^e^ Arguments urged on both sides.

In 1633, or thereabouts, when People were Revelation mad and Drunk with Scism and Blind Zeal one of y^e^ Chief Men of Boston in New Engl: * being then in Authority and warmd with a Lecture against that which y^e^ Ignorant call Superstition, with a Daring Impudence set up for a Reformer of y^e^ King's Colours and haveing taken y^e^ same in his sanctifyd Hands took his Conscience to Witness against a Monstrous Idol that he found therein, to witt, a Great Cross, and thereupon drawing his knife bravely cut it out with a great deal of Self Satisfaction and applause and y^e^ next day boldly confess'd and Defended y^e^ same.

This Unparralel'd Act created Great Differences in y^e^ Town, amongst all sorts of People, as well amongst those who had nothing to do with affairs of such a Nature as those that had in so much that y^e^ very Women were fit to pull coive's about it. As for y^e^ Common Soldier's

[1] Winthrop, i. *158.

* It was S^r^ Henry Vane [note on the MS.].

who had as little of Religion as Courage or Honesty amongst them, most of them commended y^e^ Act declairing that theyd sooner turn Heathen's and yield to y^e^ Enemy than follow or fight under a Popeish Idol, a Cross (Lord have mercy upon us!) they'd have no more to do with than with him that sufferd upon one. Yet others amongst them Maintaind y^e^ Lawfulness thereof, and that they would not deny following y^e^ same in their Colours least that they should seem to cast of their Allegiance to y^e^ Crown of England.

At length this Mighty Matter was carryd on with such fury that y^e^ whole Collony seemd to be in an uproar, so that the General Court were forced to take it into their Cognizance where after a great Bustle and Stir a Committee was Chosen and appointed both by y^e^ Magistrates and People, of y^e^ Freemen of y^e^ Collony to examin into y^e^ Matter, where after many teadious Debates, It was Carryed by three Votes that tho' their Brother had down well and acted like a Good tender Conscion'd Christian, that yet nevertheless he had not done prudently, and tho that he did not deserve any punishment for y^e^ Act it self; yet that he ought to be discharged his place in y^e^ Goverment for y^e^ same for going so bunglingly about it, and for fear that their Charters and Priviledges should by a Seizure from y^e^ King make an attonement for y^e^ same. Upon which he was called in Court and this Cruel, Hard, Sentence of Deposition passd mildly upon him, and he himself Registerd amongst y^e^ St and Suffurers of y^e^ Lord for y^e^ Testimony that he bore against a Popish Idol. Yet at y^e^ same time did they fully agree that seeing that y^e^ Cross was cut out, and that it undoubtedly was a Badg of Antichrist and a Mark of y^e^ Limb of y^e^ Divel, and that no one of their Side y^e^ Great Dike had any Power to put it in again, that therefore y^e^ use of it should be forborn for y^e^ future amongst them, for fear that y^e^ People should turn Idolater's and God should bring upon them beside's y^e^ Plague's of Impudence, Heresey, Scism, Blind, Superstition and such like, all those not half so ill [as] y^e^ Ten Plagues of Egypt.

The Rever'nd Spit-Fire's that were summond from all y^e^ Country round and commanded to lay their heads together upon this Weighty Matter argued against y^e^ use of y^e^ Cross in y^e^ Banner thus —

The Question sayd they is not, whether a Private Man may not march after his Colours, which have the Cross in them: for y^e^ Christian Legions never scrupled following y^e^ Labarum of y^e^ Roman Emperor's which was an Idolatrous Ensign. Yea y^e^ Jews themselves that made such earnest suit first unto Pilate and then unto Petronius to have such an Idolatrous Ensign removed from y^e^ Walls of their Temple: Yet without any Scruple followd it in y^e^ field. Nor is it y^e^ Question (sayd they) whether y^e^ Cross may be used in our Colours, as a Charm to protect us from our Enemys, or to defend us from Disasters, or to procure Victorys

unto us. tho' y^e^ faith which y^e^ Roman Catholicks have in it mentiond by Hoveden in y^e^ Reign of Hen y^e^ 2^d^ when Engl: France, and Flanders, distinguished themselves by their Varietys of it, ever since retaind, is abominable to all real Protestants. But y^e^ Question is whether y^e^ Cross as representing y^e^ Cross of Christ, erected as a Badg of Christianity, and a Sign of Distinction between Christians and Infidels may by any Prince or State, be now in their Banners reserved and Employd? this they approved not, and that for all these doughty Reason's.

First, That which God hath commanded utterly to be destroyd should not be retained for y^e^ Important uses of Men: But God has Commanded y^e^ Cross in y^e^ Banner to be destroyd. this may be thus proved. Images of Idols are commanded utterly to be destroyd; But y^e^ Cross in y^e^ Banner is y^e^ Image of an Idol, and y^e^ Greatest Idol in y^e^ Church of Rome. As for y^e^ Text in Deutr: where this is commanded it dos affect Christians as well as Jews, because that y^e^ Moral Reason of y^e^ Command yet continnues. If that it be objected that then the Temples of Idols were to be destroyd it may be answerd, Theodosius made a Law that they should be so. However we may distinguish between Temples dedicated unto Idols and such Temples as were dedicated unto God by Creatures. Y^e^ Papists with Aquinas deny their Temples to have been dedicated unto Saints, But affirm them dedicated unto y^e^ Honour and Service of God for his Blessings communicated by y^e^ Saints whose Names are used on this Occasion. These Temples being Purgd from their Superstitious Designations may be still used for our Christian Assemblys as our Saviour used y^e^ Jewish Water Pots to turn Water into Wine tho' they were superstitious Purifications for which they were placed there.

2^dly^ There is no Civel Honour to be given to y^e^ Image of an Idol, y^e^ 2^d^ Commandment forbids all sorts of Honour not only sacred but Civel also to such an Image, Yea, and elswhere all mention of it with Honour is prohibited. But now to advance the Cross into y^e^ Banner is to put a Civel and no little Honour upon it, it is y^e^ Cross in y^e^ Ensign which dos now Insignire and render it Ensign, and it was y^e^ Intention of Constantine to Honour y^e^ Cross when he Interdicted all Execution's of Malefactors upon it, and advanced it into his Banner.

3^dly^ If y^e^ figure of y^e^ Altar in Damascus might not be used as a Badg of y^e^ Religion and Profession of y^e^ Israelites: then y^e^ figure of y^e^ Cross may not be used as a Badg of y^e^ Religion and Profession of y^e^ Protestants. For there is a like proportion. For y^e^ Papists regard y^e^ Cross as y^e^ Altar where on our Lord was offerd; now such a figure of an Altar was Unlawfull to y^e^ People of God.

4^ly^ That which was Execrable to our Lord, y^e^ Sign of it should not be honourable to us. But so was y^e^ Cross of our Lord, for it made his

Death accursed, nor was it a pure Instrument of mere Matyrdom unto him.

5ly If ye Partakeing of Idolothytes in ye Places where ye Idols are Worshipd, express a Communion with Idols and Idolaters: then ye setting up of ye Cross in ye Places where Idolaters do worship it, namely in ye Banner is an Expression of Communion in their Idolatry. Tis true such meats when sold in ye Shambles might be eaten without Scruple of Conscience; but besides this that it was onely a Common place where these might be eaten: whereas ye Cross on ye Banner is in ye Temple where ye Apocaliptic Gentiles adore it. Besides that they were Creatures of God whereas ye Cross in ye Banner is onely a Human Contrivance. So if it had been Lawfull for a Man to have bought ye silver shrines of Diana and have causd them to be worn for ye Cognizance of his family or his attendants: ye Cross might perhaps have been lawfully used in ye Banner for a cognizance.

Lastly, if ye first Use of ye Cross in ye Banner by Constantine was superstitious: then ye first fruits being Unclean ye whole Lump of ye following use is also unclean. But Eusebius tells us that ye Emperor used this saveing Sign as a protection against all Warlike and Hostil Powers. And Sosomen tells us, That ye Emperor changed ye Image of ye Roman Labarum for ye Sign of ye Cross that so ye Soldiers who were accustomed to Worship ye Heathen Imperial Ensign, by ye Continual Sight and Worship of ye Cross might be weaned from their Country rights and brought on to worship that God alone whose sign it was.

On ye other side they that pleaded for ye use of ye Cross in ye Banner, argued after this fashion. To state ye Question we must know that it is necessary that there should be a Banner displayd, and a Banner with a Cross in it serves ye End of a Banner as much as any other. Had ye Cross never been superstitiously abused, the Civel use of that figure could not be questiond. But ye superstitious abuse is a thing that is added unto ye Civel use, and accordingly ye superstitious abuse may again be removed from it. Otherwise what a Desolation of Bells and other things must be produced by a just Reformation of Superstitions? Wherefore if ye present Authority dos neither appoint nor declare any Superstition in ye Observation of any Civel usage, ye Superstition of that usage is at an End. Thus tho' it be notoriously known that many Persons in Authority have their superstitious Conceits about Churches: Yet in as much as there is no Injunction of authority upon private persons to approve any such Conceits tis no Superstition in such persons to use those Churches unto Lawfull Uses or purposes. Ye Question then is whether ye Civel Use of ye Cross in ye Banner may not be separated from ye Superstitious abuse of it. And it seems as it may.

First. If names that have been abused for ye Honour of Idols may

in a Civel Way be still used: then things that have been so abused may be in y^e^ like manner used for a Civel Distinction. But we find y^e^ Names of Apollo and Phœbe and y^e^ like used in y^e^ Apostolic Salutations. Altho' it had been a less difficulty for those persons to have changed y^e^ Names at first sinfully imposed upon them: than for y^e^ Cross in y^e^ Banner to be now wholy layd aside. If any Heathen King put an Honour upon his Idol Bell by saying O Belteshazar, y^e^ Spirit of God may speak it without any Honour at all to that Idol.

2^dly^ It is one thing to describe a Cross as an Artificial thing by way of Civel Signification and another thing to employ a Cross as a Sacramental thing by way of sacred Observation. And in y^e^ Banner tis y^e^ former, not y^e^ latter way that it is considerd. When I am relating how a Papist crosses himself, I may lawfully express it by makeing an Aerial Cross like his. Whereas it would not be lawfull for me to make such a Cross upon y^e^ same ends with him.

3^dly^ If that y^e^ Cross first used by Constantine had in it any thing Unwarrantable it follows not, that y^e^ following use of it, is of y^e^ same Lump with y^e^ first. For if it now be used upon another Design the Uncleaness is taken away. Besides Constantine brought y^e^ Cross with as much Unwarrantableness into his Coins as he did into his Banner. But tis certain that there are few or none this day that would refuse money tho' they got thereon a Popeish Idol, but would set mighty Esteem on it y^e^ Bigger and y^e^ better y^e^ Cross was.

4^ly^ Meats tho' sacrificed unto Idols might be eaten when sold and bought in y^e^ Market. Now a Cross is an Effect of Art, and is a Creature of Gods as well as any of y^e^ Meats bred and cooked by Men.[1]

Mr. Savage mentions in his note on page *158 the existence of a tract in the Hutchinson Papers on this subject by the celebrated Hooker, and adds, "I have neither courage nor curiosity enough to study it." Upon reading it I found it must have formed the basis for the arguments of the Harleian paper on one side of the controversy, and, as such, was a much more full and complete exposition of the questions involved. It is now printed from the original in the State Archives.[2]

TOUCHINGE Y^E^ CROSSE IN Y^E^ BANNERS.

Before I speake directly to y^e^ main Quest: I shall preface a word w^ch^ I conceive may not bee unsutable, consideringe present motions y^t^ are amonge vs respectinge this case:

[1] From Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, no. 4888, fol. 86. The volume is labelled "Historical Papers and Tracts."

[2] Hutchinson Papers, i. 8. My thanks are due to Mr. Tracy for permission to take a copy.

1. To starte new Questions, and to adde definitive deterinations y^r^unto and y^r^by to sentence and censure y^e^ carriages of other men: is a practise w^ch^ as I have euer conceived not to bee safe, so I suspect not to bee so warrantable, as many may Imagine at y^e^ first appearance.

For it is y^e^ order y^t^ our Saviour prescribes in proceedinge w^th^ a particular brother: Mat. 18. 15. If yy brother sinn against thee goe and convincingly rebuke him: (as y^e^ greeke word Imports) first sett him downe by argum^t^ and shew him his sinn, and then rebuke him for his sinn.

Now y^e^ Conviction standes not in y^e^ bare and Naked proposall of arg^ts^ to y^e^ Consideration of an other, but time and meanes must be graunted and Liberty to use both, which may bee answerable to y^e^ waight of y^e^ Cause or weakenesse of y^e^ man. So in regard of both satisfaction may be seasonablely attained in a way of providence.

And if y^s^ bee y^e^ way when our L^d^ Xt prescribes for our dealinge w^th^ a particular brother: y^n^ much more should wee bee wary and tender that wee doe not suddenly censure many states and churches: professinge y^e^ truth of Xt. for such y^nge^ as have beene constantly received and practised as Lawfull: before sufficient Liberty of time and meanes have beene graunted for information herin:

2. If y^e^ Q^n^: thus sprunge cannot for y^e^ present bee settled w^th^ Agree^mt^ on all handes, it hath beene counted a course comely and pious rather to ripen y^e^ truth by private and studious Inquiery untill all helpes of information can be brought in w^ch^ may drawe on a full determination, then to trouble and darken y^e^ truth and distemper mens mindes by open contestation and opposition.

Follow y^e^ truth we must. 4 Ephes. 15 yet if it bee possible and as much as in us lyeth, bee at peace w^th^ all men. 12 Rom: 18

By sedulous and private inquiery on y^e^ one hand: sending out for light and direction into other places, wee doe regularly according to our Compasse follow y^e^ truth.

By sparinge contestatiõ and censorius opposition, neither raisinge nor spreadinge unbrotherly surmises, and Jealousyes to blemish y^e^ proceedings of either party: we follow peace. For it lyes in us not only in our power and liberty, but it lyes upon us necessarily; to preferre peace before contestation and heart burninge: while wee prejudice not y^e^ truth but are watchefully painefull to persue it in a peaceable manner:

And y^s^ was y^e^ cause I doe truly affirme for my owne part, why I was willing to suspend expressinge myself in y^s^ Case: Not y^t^ I either could be feared whither y^e^ Cross stood or fell, but y^t^ I might in quietnes, waite and expect where at y^e^ Last y^e^ truth would appeare w^th^ undeniable evidence: beinge seriously content as in y^e^ sight of y^e^ god of truth, it should appeare in any side.

3. That now I shall expresse myself (my witnesse is in heaven) is not like of opposition to any mans person or opinion. For y^e^ L^d^ knoweth it is my affliction to differe in Judg^mt^, from any of my faithfull brethren: and most crosse is my inclination to expresse contrariety therin.

But beinge Importuned publiquely, privately by speech and Letter: and that by some to whom I owe much in y^e^ Lord: and without whoes invitation it was in my Hearte never to sett penn to paper, on y^s^ point: conceivinge my self thus constrained by call to expresse my sudden apprehensions

I shall crave leave by way of inquisition only to propose an argument or two:

Not y^t^ I am a Friend to y^e^ Crosse as an Idoll or to any Idollatry in it: or that any carnall Fear takes mee asyde and makes me unwillinge to give way to y^e^ evidence of y^e^ truth, becaus of y^e^ sad Consequencies y^t^ may bee suspected to flowe from it: I blesse y^e^ Lord my consciens accuseth mee of no such y^nge^: but that as yet I am not able to see y^e^ sinfulnes of y^e^ banner in a civle use: Those who see more by grace received, and to whom y^e^ L^d^ is pleased to give a more speedy discerninge of ynges propounded to you: must not take it Ill if those who have beene Longe settled in som principles (w^ch^ y^y^ conceve to bee truth) are [*illegible*] of apprehension to see thorough ynges objected or yet to cleare y^r^ owne thoughts; and yrfore need and crave longer time of consideratiõ before they can come to determine any thinge.

4. When our faithfull fellow brethren in y^e^ places from whens wee came will of necessity bee imbarked in y^e^ Cause and Consequences now in agitation, I could wish it were well considered, whither it bee not only comely and safe but necessary in a kinde, y^t^ y^e^ Counsell and advice should bee craved to see whether any beame of truth may bee cast in from y^ns^.

For bee it graunted that it ware y^e^ unanimous consent of all our plantations to remove y^e^ ensigne upon reasons stronge to our owne apprehension, which notwithstandinge beinge propounded to y^e^ examinatiõ of other churches, might receive such answers as could by us in no wise be removed, how uncomfortable would it bee y^t^ wee did not feele for direction in doubtfull cases, which w^n^ wee receive wee are not able to gainsay.

The state of y^e^ Q^n^ may bee cleared and conceived by y^e^ severall expressions followinge:

1. It is requisite yea necessary y^t^ som banner be displayed in warre:

2. This banner in a civle way is as apt to attaine y^e^ end in gatheringe and guidinge souldiers as any other:

3. Had it never beene abused Idolatrously and superstitiously, y^n^ had beene no more Qtion of using y^s^ y^n^ any other:

4. This abuse is y^t^ w^ch^ is superadded to y^e^ civle use, namely when

it was Impiously instituted and observed as a Cause of protection from danger; or delivering men out of danger, y^n^ was it made an Idoll and sett in y^e^ roome of god, in whoes handes protection and preservation only is.

When also it was ordained and appointed as a morall or sacramentall sighne to draw or stirre the hearte to xt in Love or hope than became it superstitious.

5. This superstitious abuse as it was superadded, so may it againe bee removed from y^e^ naturall and civle use hereof beinge only a seperable adjunct.

For y^e^ old truth unto w^ch^ all those who have endeavoured reformation stand, and unto w^ch^ I doe mainly attend in ys case, was and is this.

Thinges abused to Idolatry whereof y^r^ is no necessary use ought to bee removed. but if y^r^ bee a necessary use of y^m^ (as in Bells and churches) then y^e^ use necessary in a way of providence may bee retained, and y^e^ Idolatry and superstition reformed:

6. So y^t^ w^n^ y^e^ Qtion is how came y^e^ banners y^t^ ware Idolatrous and superstitious in Queene Maryes dayes to bee neither in Queen Elizabeths,

The answer is open and at hand. Even as y^e^ Bells and churches w^ch^ were Idolatrous and superstitious in popish abuse retaine y^e^ Lawfull use by protestants, namely remove Idolatrous and superstitious institution and observation. (as when neither authority in that Irreligious way appoint or Injoyne these to be used, nor any is bound by a Com̃and of the nature to observe them that which is necessary is now retayned and that w^ch^ is Impious is removed.

7. Note y^t^ w^ch^ is yet somw^t^ [*illegible*] though it bee knowne notoriously, y^t^ many who are in place of authority, doe in y^r^ owne private opinions, put a holines in churches, yet becaus there is no publique Com̃and, w^ch^ Injoynes any particular man either by subscription, or any personall acte, to shew consent or approbation hereof, tis conceived not unlawfull for y^e^ faithfull to Injoye y^e^ benefitt of churches in y^e^ Assemblies.

When y^r^fore it shall appeare by any evictinge argu^mt^ y^t^ y^e^ Abuse hath so farre eaten into y^e^ Civill use of y^s^ Crosse in y^e^ banner, that it cannot bee removed therefrom, and so this not used without sinn, I shall freely and willingly yielde y^e^ Cause.

For y^e^ meane time I desyre help and information in an arg^mt^ or two, w^ch^ yet Hinder mee that I can not clearely see, but y^t^ y^e^ civill use of y^s^ Crosse in y^e^ banner may bee severed from y^e^ Idolatrous abuse thereof: and in y^t^ way and for that end may bee Lawfully retained:

1 Arg: If Names stated and Imposed for the Honour of Idolls, may yet bee used in a Civill way. Then ynges so abused may in like manner have like use:

For y^e^ ground is y^e^ same, names are Images of thinges, as well as any other artificiall thinges. When therefore they are equally abused about an Idoll they are equally for bidden: 23 exo. 13 23 Jose 7. and y^r^fore ought equally to be removed.

If y^e^ one may bee used y^n^ y^e^ other may also.

But names so stated and abused for y^e^ Honour of an Idoll may yet Lawfully bee used in a Civill way. 16 Rom. 1: 1 Cor. 16. 12: in w^ch^ paull makes use of y^e^ Idolatrous names of Phoebe and Apollo. So yese ynges so abused may be used in a Civill way.

Ob. These Names tho: sinfully Imposed, yet being Imposed became of so necessary use, that yy could not bee changed: w^th^ out disorder and confusion in y^e^ way of Comon converse and comunion of men.

A. True yy were of necessary use being comonly and constantly receaved, and y^t^ is it w^ch^ wee apprehend to bee y^e^ Case in Hande, as hath beene expressed in y^e^ explication of y^e^ case prop. 5:

And further ye necessety was no other, nor yet more if so much, as y^t^ w^ch^ will appeare to bee of y^e^ ynge now in controversy.

It was only a necessety of conveniens, in relatinge and usinge those names, to avoid trouble, disturbans and confusion: in dayly converse, some would have styled y^m^ one way, others an other.

But here minde wee what breaches and heart burnings, hath y^e^ attempted alteration of y^s^ desighne caused amonge our selves: wt expectation, distaste and Hazards from other parts: and y^e^ necessity of y^s^ Ensighne at y^e^ Sea: when wee send shippinge to our Country, or traffique w^th^ other nations: as farre as I can heare is such y^t^ y^e^ wante of it will in all likely hood hazard y^e^ safety of y^e^ vessells and Libertyes and lifes of yose y^t^ saile in her:

In w^ch^ kind of necessity it may I thinke bee safely said, to bee more necessary in bells or churches. for yy may bee altered from any use in solemne assemblies w^th^ out any such danger.

Againe had it not beene easy to a mans ordinary apprehension. For y^e^ apost. to have otherwise described yese parties, or exprest from distaste at y^r^ names for y^e^ present, and advised a change and alteration amonge y^e^ saintes, without any such Hazard as here is in present viewe.

Item It is true y^t^ no man should for reason, impose y^e^ name Apollo or Jupiter upon his childe, neither would y^e^ Ap: so advise, as being of no necessary use so to doe, and y^r^fore contrary to a rule before mentioned, but being so Imposed and a necessary use beinge Involved upon it, unto w^ch^ it serves in a way of providence, wee see y^e^ Apost. prescribes not y^e^ Change, nor removall of it. The like wee may speake of y^e^ Case in Hande.

But is not ys to give civill Honour to an Idoll contrary to y^e^ 2d Com: and script. formelly alleged 23 exod. 16. Psal. w^r^ y^e^ honour of a name is denyed y^m^.

A. Certaine it is y^e^ apost. did give no Honour to y^e^ Idoll tho he used yese names in an honorable civill way of salutation and Comendation: 2 ynges yrfore as before are to bee considered and attended. 1. y^e^ word Apollo is applyed as y^e^ propper naime to a man for distinction and denomination sake, to answer to when called, and so to distinguish him from an other, and yus to retaine it, is to retaine a word in a lawfull way to a lawfull end civilly.

2. By y^s^ to have y^e^ mind carryed up to an Idoll to expect preservation from it, or to bee stirred to afforde honor to it, y^s^ is an Idolatrous and superstitious Course:

The former use is not to give civill Honour to an Idoll but to use a name lawfully, to serve a civill and Honorable end.

The like of y^e^ Crosse in y^e^ present Case, use it as one particular Ingredient to make up y^e^ ensighne w^ch^ shall gather and guide troopes in y^r^ marching, is to use an artificiall thinge to serve a way of gods providence.

But by vertue of any institution to expect protection from ys: or to doe any honour to ys is Idolatrous.

Againe herein I desyre som information. An ensighne is properly a 3d. thing arisinge and resultinge from y^e^ paintinge of any figure and y^e^ ynge so painted: so y^t^ itt is a figurative speeche, to saye y^e^ Crosse is y^e^ ensighne, or y^e^ cloth is y^e^ ensighne: for it propperly is a 3d thinge, arising from both, and appointed in y^e^ place a sighne of authority callinge, comanding, gathering guiding: This sighne appointed to y^s^ service is an Ensighne:

Hence y^e^ Ensighne is sayd insignire: by a metony: if y^e^ adjunct becaus it shewes Honorable comand. whereas y^e^ Crosse serves to y^s^ relation in parte: and is not It propperly, and its worke is but servinge and helpinge: to make up yt w^ch^ does represent and signify, Honor or Honorable comand. As take an other instance in y^e^ same kind: Lett a board of a four square figure be lifted up for an Ensighne, to saye y^e^ board is an Ensighne, or y^e^ figure alone is an Ensighne is not propper speech, but y^t^ relation y^t^ ariseth from both yese: It is not rationall to saye that wee honour the board or y^e^ four square figure, but wee make both these serve to that w^ch^ is a sighne of Honour: and y^t^ y^e^ Honour lyes not or is not to bee attended in y^e^ figure of y^e^ crosse me thinkes that makes it more y^n^ probable y^t^ where y^e^ Crosse is defaced and part of y^e^ figures of y^e^ ensighne torn away yet y^e^ souldier is as ambitious of his ensighne to keepe it and y^e^ enemy to get it as ever: wch shewes y^t^ y^e^ Crosse is not y^e^ Ensighne nor y^e^ Honour to lye in y^e^ figure of y^e^ Crosse but in y^e^ relation formerly mentioned w^ch^ is bore up by any part of yt w^ch^ ariseth from both.

2 arg. To use a worke of arte to serve a way of providence is lawfull, but to use y^s^ Crosse in y^e^ banner in a civle way, is to use y^e^ worke of

arte Namely of painting and dying to serve military discipline a way of providence. rgo: yus to use it is Lawfull.

But happely it will be replyed that y^e^ Cross which is y^e^ effect of paintinge is only transversa figura or Thwart or Crosse line or figure: but this is Intended by them y^t^ erect and use it to bee, signũ crucis, a sighne of y^t^ Crosse w^ch^ did crucefy xt. and so a badge of our xtian religion:

To w^ch^ y^e^ answer is by denying both y^e^ particulars.

The civle use of y^e^ Crosse in y^e^ banner is here only attended, and disputed and yrfore to adde a religious use thereto, to make it a significant or sacramentall sighne to helpe on our hearts and apprehensions to a spirituall end, by a humane institution is to make y^t^ y^e^ Question which Indeed is not. Nor doe I know any that thinke it more lawfull to put such a signification upon it, y^n^ to expect protection from it: besydes authority comands it not so for ought I have heard nor does any captaine who is not popish use it in y^t^ sence: he comands his souldiers to follow y^t^ ensighne or Colours: not to attend y^m^ or to follow y^m^ as a bodye of xtianes, or to have y^r^ mindes and heartes taught or stirred by y^m^ to religion: if any in authority have such a superstitious opinion of it: as long as y^r^ is no publique Comand y^t^ Injoynes either Captaine or souldier by any personall acte to approve thereof or so to use it: but only to attend and take y^e^ civle use y^r^of: y^e^ practise may be lawfull, tho y^e^ others opinion bee apparently false, as before was expressed in y^e^ 7^th^ proposition.

Lastly had it as a banner such an Institution and Imposition, I doe not yet see but it would prove as unlawfull (and so doe y^e^ most pious and judicious conceive) to follow it as to erect it. For he y^t^ followes a banner, so farre by that acte doth submitt himself y^r^unto, as to attende it and use it for y^t^ end, for w^ch^ as a banner it was erected. If y^r^fore as a banner it bee appointed, as a badge of religion to teach and stirre y^e^ hearte, he y^t^ submittes hereunto in y^t^ name, subjects himself to bee taught and stirred in y^t^ manner y^r^by.

To y^e^ 2d part of y^e^ reply:

It may also bee sayd y^t^ y^e^ Crosse, w^ch^ is y^e^ effect of paintinge is not transversa figura only, but signũ Crucis also, only still y^e^ sighne of a Crosse in a Civill way and for a civill end.

For signũ here is as much as a simillitude, and resemblance of y^e^ Crosse w^r^ on xt was crucefyed, and it resembles it as Rem non ut sacram as Ames hath it in a like Case. It resembles y^e^ Crosse as an artificial ynge: not as holy or for an holy end, as instance may bee given in y^e^ like Kinde.

If it ware asked how doth a papist crosse himself, when he goes forth of his doores in y^e^ morninge to y^e^ worke of y^e^ daye: .

The party y^t^ would describe his carriage drawes a Crosse line over

his breast and tells y^e guise of y^e papist: to make y^e sighne of y^e Crosse of xt: here is signum crucis used only by way of description of a popish carriage. as y^e finis operis it operates doe abundantly testify: w^{ch} notwithstanding y^e papist used for a spirituall and supernaturall end, and so unlawfully.

Ob. but y^e first peice and originall was superstitious by Constantine, and if y^e 1st frutes are unclean y^n y^e whole lump of y^e following use is unclean.

A: bee it y^t y^e first use of y^e Crosse brought in by Constantine was Idolatrous and superstitious I should easily graunt y^t all y^e followinge use taken up upon y^e same grounes for y^e same ends is also sinfull:

But y^t y^e civle use should y^rfore bee unclean I suppose it will not follow, for it is none of y^t kind or lump: unlesse it can be proved y^t y^e civle and superstitious use cannot be separated again w^n It is not Questioned whither y^e Crosse be lawfully used in y^e banners as a protection from enemies or a defence against dangers. I thence take it for graunted, y^t so much of y^e Idolatry is removed and why y^e rest also may not bee removed I desyre to read or see a satisfactory reason. y^e ynge havinge besydes both, y^e necessary use in a way of providence.

3: When it is cleared and graunted y^t it was Constantines intention for y^e Honour of y^e Crosse to putt it into coines as well as ensignes, I confesse unfaignedly I can not see, but by y^e same rule it will be unlawfull in y^e one as well as in y^e other and y^rfore w^t more warrant men have in a way of trading to take and keepe coine w^{th}out meltinge or at least defacinge y^e Crosse, y^rin rather y^n to refuse or not keepe an ensighne w^{th}out expression of answerable dislike: I desire sum difference here to bee shewed for further satisfaction.

Ob: If y^e eatinge of meat sacrificed unto Idolls in y^e place where Idolls are worshipped: y^t is in y^e Idolls temple or chamber: doth hold forth communion w^{th} Idolls and Idolaters: y^n y^e setting up of y^e Crosse in y^e place where it is worshipped of Idolaters: y^t is in y^e banners doth hold forth cõunion w^{th} y^e Crosse and Crosse worshipping forbidden 1 Cor. 10: 18. 19. 20. 21.

A: The Cause why they y^t did eate meates sacrificed to Idolls in y^e place where they ware worshipped ware guilty of Idollatry, was not becaus of y^e place in w^{ch} yy did eate namely y^e Temple: but because yy Joyned w^{th} ym in y^t acte of y^r Idolatrous service, as it is abundantly cleare by all y^e expressions, where y^e practise is compared, to y^e peoples eatinge of meat sacraficed at y^e altar verse 18. The Table of Idolls and so of divles is compared w^{th} y^e table of y^e Lord, and y^e eating at y^e one w^{th} y^e eating and communicating at y^e other.

So y^t had a man eaten bread and dranke wine as comon and ordinary dyet, at a private table in som corner of ye temple, he could not y^rfore be sayd to comunicate at y^e Lords table w^r bread and wine ware sol-

emnly sanctefyed, according to xts Institution: becaus tho he was in y^e^ same place, he Joyned not w̄^th^ ym in y^e^ same service.

So that any Corinthian bought meat in y^e^ shambles sacrificed to Idols and eaten it as ordinary diet at som private corner of y^e^ temple he could not be sayd to coñunicate at y^e^ table of divles. So here tho papists and protestants use y^s^ sighne y^e^ one for a civill end only, y^e^ other for an Idolatrous and superstitious, tho yy meek in y^e^ same thinge yet not in y^e^ same service, namely Idolatrous grounds and ends, w^ch^ was y^e^ cause of coñunicatinge in Idolatry both in Corinth and here.

And our application of it to ends formerly mentioned, is as it ware, a degrading of y^e^ Impious use and putting in to a coñon place where y^e^ use of it is generally received to be civill only, by almost all writers In all y^e^ churches of xt, and all states professing y^e^ true faith of xt:

The same argument may be made against our churches and y^e^ same answer will serve.[1]

The Papists worshippe god superstitiously and Idolatrously in churches.

Wee meet w^th^ y^m^ y^r^ to worshippe and y^r^fore wee must also worshippe superstitiously.

Its plaine I suppose y^e^ consequens deserves a deniall, becaus tho wee meet in y^e^ same place and use y^e^ same place w^th^ y^m^, yet wee meet not in y^e^ service.

They use it Idolatrously we civilly, for our more comfortable assemblinge.

Remarks were made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT, F. B. SANBORN, SAMUEL A. GREEN, CHARLES C. SMITH, ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, WORTHINGTON C. FORD, JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, and BARRETT WENDELL.

A new serial of the Proceedings, for January and February, was on the table.

[1] If any one is curious to read some of the arguments on the use of Roman Catholic churches and chapels by the Separatists, he will find good examples in Paget's "An Arrow against the Separation of the Brownistes" (1618), 130.

MEMOIR

OF

JOHN ELLIOT SANFORD.

By MORTON DEXTER.

In 1631 there landed at Boston one John Sanford. He was an Englishman from Alford in Lincolnshire. He remained in Boston for seven years. At the end of that period, having become a sympathizer with the views of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, he was obliged to leave the Bay Colony and went to Rhode Island. There he was one of the pioneer settlers of Portsmouth and became one of the colonial leaders. In addition to various minor offices, civil or military, he held, at the time of his death in 1653, that of President of the Portsmouth and Newport Colony. From him the subject of this sketch was descended.

During most of the intervening time the headquarters of the family has been the town of Berkley, Massachusetts, where Mr. Sanford's father was born, and in the successive generations its members have been eminent locally. It has been a representative New England family of the historic and familiar type.

Mr. Sanford was born on November 22, 1830, at South Dennis, Massachusetts, where his father, Rev. John Sanford, was pastor of the Congregational church from 1818 to 1838. When he was seven years old his father removed to Amherst, Massachusetts, largely in order to secure better educational opportunities for his children. The son grew up in circumstances of comfort and culture but not of wealth and including little of luxury. He prepared for college at Amherst Academy and at Williston Seminary, at Easthampton, entered Amherst College in 1847, and was graduated in due course in 1851. He was the valedictorian of his class and was a member of the Alpha Delta Phi Society.

Like so many other young graduates, he then taught for several years — including a tutorship at Amherst — while fitting himself for his chosen profession, the law. Finally he settled in Taunton, where his brother was head of the legal firm of Sanford and Morton, and resided there during the remainder of his life.

He was admitted to the bar in 1856. His high standard of duty, his judicial temperament, and the thoroughness of his scholarship guaranteed his professional success from the outset. He had the power of clear, logical statement in a high degree. He was the sort of lawyer whose appearance in behalf of a client creates an impression that his case is worthy. He was a man in whom it was felt natural and safe to repose confidence.

But it did not prove to be the legal profession, speaking strictly, in which he was to do the most and the best of his life-work. He believed strongly that good citizens ought to show their interest in the public welfare by taking part in politics, and in 1863 he was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives and in 1864 to the Senate. In 1866, the year in which the Insurance Commission was reorganized so as to consist of but one member, he was appointed to fill the position and held it for three years. In 1871 he was sent to the legislature again and was chosen Speaker of the House. In 1875, after four terms, he declined an offered re-election.

In 1876 he was the delegate from his district to the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati, which nominated General Rutherford B. Hayes for the Presidency. He was one of the Committee on Credentials, and the following extract from the report of the "Boston Herald" throws an interesting light upon the man himself and the value of his service:

> This convention was the first at which the colored man was a power, and an element which proved troublesome. A member of the committee on credentials, in speaking on the early work of the convention, says:
>
> "Of course, this was the first committee to get to work. There were several colored men on the committee, and they were bound to make up for lost time and to be heard. There were others on the committee from the South quite as fiery and untamed. It was the liveliest lot of politicians I ever came across. There were many contested cases, and they were contested as if the existence of the world depended upon the result. Unfortunately, we had for chairman one who evidently was

without experience in parliamentary methods and sadly lacking in force. The committee was a very large one, and was little more than a mob. There was no real organization. A dozen would try to speak at the same time, and it was confusion worse confounded. The colored men jumped up and down, fairly dancing in their wrath and shaking their fists in the faces of the other members. The chairman resigned his seat to another, but it did not mend matters, the substitute being as inexperienced as the other. Hours were passed in this way, it being little better than a bedlam. Men of mild manner were of no account. It was necessary to shout at the top of the voice to be heard.

"At length a quiet and composed gentleman succeeded in making himself heard for a moment. He had not spoken a dozen words before all the turbulence ceased, and he was master of the assembly. In a few plain words he correctly stated the proper relations of the question, and started matters in their proper groove.

"Things moved smoothly for awhile, but again a storm arose. After an unsuccessful attempt to quell it the chairman called the quiet gentleman to the chair. He retained the position throughout the sitting, and there was no more trouble. It was a remarkable instance of the power residing in a judicious and properly skilled presiding officer. Not having learned the gentleman's name, and being curious about it, I took an early opportunity after the adjournment to ask it of him, when he gave it as Mr. Sanford of Massachusetts. I at once recognized it as that of one of the most accomplished of the many famous men who have graced the speaker's chair in your Legislature."

In 1880 he also was a delegate to the Chicago Convention which nominated General Garfield. He was in favor of Senator Edmunds originally and seconded his nomination before the convention.

In 1882 he was appointed chairman of the Harbor and Land Commission of this State and held office for ten years. In 1892 he was transferred to the Railroad Commission and was made its chairman, serving thus until 1899. In these seven years he did what apparently was his most valuable official work. During the period of his administration some important matters, involving large interests and causing strong feeling, had to be adjusted. The present South Station in Boston was built, the Tremont Street Subway was constructed and leased to the West End Street Railway Company, and the property of this company was taken over by the Boston Elevated Railway Company, vital modifications of the lease in the public interest being inserted by the Commission, chiefly

because Mr. Sanford insisted upon them. He had much to do with the rapid and useful development of electric street railways, which began while he was in office, and some of his proposals relating to the management of steam railroads have been adopted. He raised the annual reports of the Commission from the usual level of dry statements of facts, largely statistical, to that of interesting and suggestive explanations and discussions. They have been demanded, and quoted freely, in other parts of our own country and even abroad.

When he retired from the Railroad Commission, in 1899, he had served the public nearly the whole time for thirty-six years, and had given it service which for conscientiousness, ability, and fruitfulness seldom has been surpassed.

During the remaining eight years of his life, — he died on October 11, 1907, — he resided at his home in Taunton, visiting Europe nearly every summer and enjoying the comparative rest which he had fairly earned. But he never was allowed to free himself wholly from the responsibilities of a citizen. In local matters of any consequence he usually was consulted, and, so far as he would permit, was given leadership. In his earlier years he had served his city upon the school committee, the board of aldermen and the common council, and up to the time of his death he was president or director of several banks or corporations and a member of important commissions.

He was identified as a vestryman and communicant with St. Thomas Church in Taunton, and was the president of the Episcopalian Club of this State in 1893 and 1894.

He was one of the most loyal graduates of Amherst College and was president of its Board of Trustees from 1874 until his death, devoting much time to the promotion of its welfare, especially in connection with its finances. He founded a scholarship in it for the benefit of needy students. He received the degree of Doctor of Laws from the college in 1896.

He was elected to this Society in January, 1884, and took a sincere interest in all its doings. But he rarely, if ever, attended its meetings. His absence was due to the incessant and compelling demands upon his time during the earlier years of his membership, and, after his retirement from official life, to gradually increasing deafness. In 1891 he furnished for its proceedings a memoir of our former associate Rev. Henry

M. Dexter, D.D., LL.D., but this was his only contribution. He also belonged to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and in 1870 he was elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society of London. He was the first man on this side of the Atlantic to be honored thus, and up to the time of his death the Society had only five other associates in the United States.

Mr. Sanford was a man of serious temperament and was dignified and courtly in manner. He was naturally reserved yet was cordial and genial. He had pronounced convictions and strong feelings and was capable of extreme indignation, but he exhibited a great power of self-control. He took large, discriminating views of life and treated others with a tolerance and charity which he never asked for himself. He was conspicuously fair and just. He would have made an admirable judge. He seldom failed to retain the personal respect and liking of those from whom he felt obliged to differ. After his death a man eminent in the management of great railroads said of him: "I had occasion to appear before the Railroad Commission several times while he was its chairman, and, although I did not always get what I wanted, and found him inflexible when he had made up his mind, he was so courteous and so willing to hear and weigh everything that could be said on all sides of any case that I learned to feel for him a very high regard."

Mr. Sanford had the utmost distaste for all attempts to push one's self into publicity and shrank from active effort to promote his own interests politically, although few men could be more determined in any conflict involving the public good. At least once he was offered an unopposed nomination for Congress by the Republicans of his district, which he felt unable to accept, and his name was proposed informally more than once in connection with the governorship of this State.

He was generous in his benefactions, but no one else ever knew the extent of his benevolence. His chief recreation was horticulture. He gave as much time as he could spare to the cultivation of the trees and plants upon his estate and seemed to know every one of them intimately.

He was married in 1856 to Emily James White, of Taunton, who died in 1899. He left three daughters. No more fitting words can end this outline of his character and career than the

following, taken from a tribute to him in the Taunton Daily Gazette of October 12, 1907, the day after his death:

It is probable that no other citizen of Taunton was ever called to undertake more varied duties, and certain that all his work as a citizen, an official, a husband, father, Christian and friend was well done. A city is fortunate to have had such a citizen. . . .

No greater legacy was left to his children than that all his varied successes and honors came not through political manipulation and trickery, time-serving and trading honest manhood for position, but because integrity, ability, faithfulness, dignity, and courtesy won them.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

C. H. Dallou.

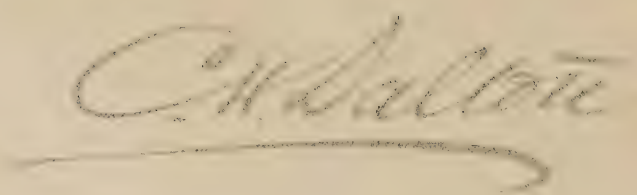
[illegible]

[illegible] DALTON,

[illegible]

[illegible] Dalton was [illegible] November 21, [illegible] on the Old Dalton [illegible] he was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] England.

His great-grandfather, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]



MEMOIR

OF

CHARLES HENRY DALTON.

By ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Charles Henry Dalton was born at Chelmsford, Massachusetts, September 25, 1826, the third of eight children of John Call Dalton and Julia Ann Spalding. On both sides he was descended from families whose history is intimately connected with the early growth and development of New England.

His great-grandfather, James Dalton, who was born in 1718, was the first of his family to settle in Boston. Whether or not he was descended from the Daltons who emigrated to this country in 1635, and whose principal home in the seventeenth century was at Hampton, New Hampshire, I have been unable to discover: the probabilities on the whole seem to point in this direction. From his early youth James Dalton was engaged in seafaring pursuits. In 1740 he was commander of the brigantine "Joshua," trading from Boston to London, and later became the owner of various vessels, voyaging along the coast to the Carolinas, West Indies, and sometimes to Europe. In 1756 he purchased an estate in Boston on the south side of Water Street, which contained a tanyard, garden, dwelling-house, and other buildings. These he pulled down and in 1758 built upon the property a Mansion House[1] which was occupied by himself and family during the remainder of his life and afterwards by his son, Peter Roe Dalton. After the "great fire" of 1760, when this part of the town was rebuilt, a committee of the General Court ordered a new street, running from Milk to Water Street, to be laid out through

[1] A picture of this Mansion House forms the central portion of Mr. Charles H. Dalton's book-plate, designed in 1903.

the estate in such a way as to divide it very unequally and render the smaller part unavailable for building purposes. A memorial addressed by Captain Dalton to the General Court resulted in moving the site of the proposed street further west, so that it divided the estate more equally, and in consideration of this Captain Dalton agreed not to require any compensation for the portion of his land occupied by the new street, which was known as "Dalton's Lane" and "Dalton's Street" until the year 1800, when its name was changed to Congress Street.

Captain Dalton was one of the proprietors of King's Chapel at the time of its rebuilding, and owned at various times pews 26, 40, 53, 58, and 98. He married January 24, 1740, Abigail, daughter of Peter Roe, a resident of Boston, and widow of Judah Alden. He died April 21, 1783. He is described as "prudent, but energetic and successful in business, persevering, liberal and public-spirited, courteous to his associates, and of a kindly disposition."

Of his ten children the second (and oldest son), Peter Roe Dalton, was born in 1743 and died in 1811. In his youth he followed his father's calling and went to sea. The similarity between his character, tastes, and career and those of his grandson, the subject of this memoir, is too striking to be passed over without comment. During the American Revolution he was Deputy Commissary-General of Issues in the Continental service, receiving and distributing provisions of all kinds to the troops stationed at Boston, to the prisoners of war confined in the harbor, and to the French fleet under the Count d'Estaing. In 1782 he was appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts one of a committee to settle the accounts of the Board of War of that State, and to examine and certify all claims against the State arising from losses in the Penobscot expedition of 1779. He was connected with several financial and commercial organizations in Boston, and frequently acted as executor and administrator. He is described as "a man of great activity and devotion to business, and capable of managing large interests. He was prompt to detect and thwart any attempt at gaining undue advantage and decided, though polite in his manner of doing so. He was fond of generous living, and accustomed to make ample provision for his bodily comfort, but was never excessive in

any personal indulgence." *Mutatis mutandis*, this portrait, both of character and occupations, will be found to fit his grandson equally well.

Peter Roe Dalton was twice married. His first wife, Susannah Griggs, bore him four children, of whom one, a daughter, survived; his second, Anne Call, bore him eleven, of whom the tenth was the father of the subject of this memoir. John Call Dalton's distinguished career as a physician in Chelmsford, Lowell, and Boston, and in the Civil War does not need description here. Suffice it to say that he was the ideal doctor of the old school, of the days before the practice of medicine had become highly specialized, and one who was able by his sterling character as well as his professional attainments to render priceless service to the community where he lived.

Mr. Dalton's maternal ancestors were a race of farmers. Edward Spalding (or Spaulding, as the name was then spelt) came to America in the earliest years of the Massachusetts Colony, probably between 1630 and 1633. After a brief residence at Braintree, he went to Chelmsford at the time of the first settlement of that town, and at the first town-meeting, September 22, 1654, was chosen one of the selectmen. Seven generations of his descendants lived at Chelmsford, cultivating and increasing the land which was granted to their ancestor, yeomen all, and servants of the town, colony, state, and church at various occasions and in various ways. By all odds the most distinguished member of the family was Simeon Spalding (1713–1785), the fourth in descent from Edward, and the great-grandfather of Charles H. Dalton. His most notable services were rendered in connection with the American Revolution. In 1770 he was chosen representative of his town "at a Great and General Court and Assembly appointed to be convened, held and kept for his Majesty's service at Harvard College"; and again in 1773, 1774, 1775, and 1776. In February, 1776, he was commissioned colonel of the Seventh Regiment of Provincial Militia, and in 1779 delegate to the Convention for framing a Constitution of Government for the State of Massachusetts Bay. These and many other minor offices attest his prominence in the public service in this first great crisis of our national existence.

Such were the high traditions and noble inheritance of

Charles H. Dalton. By a long and active life of service and good citizenship he was to prove himself worthy of them.

The first five years of Mr. Dalton's life were spent for the most part at Chelmsford, until his father's removal to Lowell in 1831. The only incident of this period of which there is any record is his first journey to Boston in 1827 at the age of one, made by the then famous Middlesex Canal, which was first open for traffic in 1803, only to be superseded, some thirty years later, by the Boston and Lowell Railroad. Mr. Dalton used to be fond of pointing out, as a unique illustration of the radical changes in the methods of transportation that have been witnessed in New England in the past seventy years, that this canal trip landed him in Haymarket Square on precisely the spot now occupied by one of the stations of the subway to whose construction he devoted so much care and labor in his later life. His boyhood and early youth were spent in Chelmsford and Lowell; he was a pupil at the common school at Chelmsford, and at the Lowell High School before the year 1844, after which he was sent to a boarding school at Medford; but of college education he had none. It was a source of the deepest regret to him in later life that he never went to Harvard. An honest fear that he might not be able to equal the brilliant record there of his elder brother John, who graduated in 1844, was perhaps the chief reason why he decided not to go. Great and genuine modesty in regard to his intellectual attainments was ever one of his most prominent traits.

Mr. Dalton entered upon his long and successful business career as a salesman in the firm of R. A. Crafts and Company certainly not later than the year 1848. This firm was engaged in the manufacture of ginghams and mousseline-de-laines and its mills were in Taunton; but Mr. Dalton, to judge from the Boston Directory of 1848–1849, was employed in the Boston office, which was located at 49 Milk Street. In the year 1849 he was transferred to the commission house of Sayles, Merriam, and Brewer, selling agents for some of the largest factories in New England. His first important service to this firm was rendered in the settlement of a strike among the operatives of the Hamilton Woollen Company at Southbridge, a task which he accomplished so successfully that he was soon put in

charge as manager there, and continued to reside for the most part at Globe Village, a part of Southbridge, during the next five years.

Fragments of a correspondence between Mr. Dalton and the firm that employed him at this time have been preserved, and are interesting as showing that he inherited all his grandfather's ability "to detect and thwart any attempt at gaining undue advantage," and was "decided, though polite, in his manner of doing so." In January, 1851, it was proposed that he should visit England for three months in order to inform himself concerning the factories and manufacturing methods there: his firm, however, desired him before his departure to engage positively to remain with them five years longer, but attempted at the same time to reserve to themselves the privilege of terminating the connection at any moment, and hinted that if Mr. Dalton was unable to fall in with their plans, they should be obliged to find another to fill his place. To this proposal Mr. Dalton wrote a decided though courteous letter of objection, pointing out the unfairness of the terms and desiring a more equitable arrangement. The precise nature of the settlement of this difference of opinion is not apparent, but it is clear that Mr. Dalton's views prevailed, for he sailed for Europe in less than a month in the employ of the firm, but terminated his connection with it, of his own volition, in the latter part of 1853, before the five years had elapsed.

His first impressions of England are interestingly recounted in a letter to his father, dated from Manchester, March 13, 1851:

> I have been into various parts of the west of England, through the counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Chester and Derbyshire. Everywhere the country is beautiful, highly cultivated, not an inch of ground wasted, the roads fifty miles from Manchester as clear and smooth as Boston streets. The only objection to them is that about every two miles there is a toll bar where it is necessary to pay tribute. . . . Last night I went to a dinner party about five miles from Manchester at Mr. H——'s, the partner of Miss P——'s friend. Hope Hall is the name of the house. The style of these things here is quiet and dignified, elegant in all parts. To me thus far, they have been pleasant because they are somewhat of a novelty, but I should think the gentlemen would get weary of them. I arrived at about five minutes before 6.30 (the dining hour stated on the card) and was relieved of my coat and hat

by one servant in livery, straw colored small clothes, white neck handkerchief, etc., and announced by another who evidently knew my name beforehand. Three or four guests had arrived before me and in five minutes all had come, making a party of about twenty. I being the only stranger, Mr. H—— asked me to take Mrs. H—— to the table when dinner was announced and to take a seat on her right; the other guests were arranged without fuss; and down we went, about six servants in livery being at the foot of the dining room, as solemn and stiff and to me, a little fantastic, as a drum major. The room was rather bare of furniture and ornament but the heavy drapery and large dining chairs made it look comfortable enough. The courses lasted, I should think, about two hours, when the ladies left and the gentlemen clustered around one end of the board and talked and drank, eight or nine of us, keeping about as many decanters running the gauntlet for an hour longer. We then followed the ladies, had tea, and a very little execution by the Misses H—— on harp and piano. At ten precisely, "Your fly, Sir," was announced to three or four of us and as regularly and quietly as clock work, we took our leave. . . .

England is a fine place to live in if one is rich, but Heaven help the poor. I have got so accustomed to the beggars of all degrees and ages that they make no impression at the moment. Yesterday I passed a family of six or eight, mostly females, and though I was cold with a thick top coat and shawl, and it was raining at the time, not more than half their bodies were covered with anything. There is misery and degradation in this city among the factory classes which is not dreamed of in Lowell, and many a person may tour it through England without seeing much which places it infinitely below America in point of respectability. The hospitality and good manners and elegant, stylish mode of living of the rich is pleasant to their guests, but the misery, heart sickening to look upon in some of the crowded streets of Manchester, is fully strong enough in contrast. On a Saturday afternoon, after the hands are paid off, I have been among the gin-shops, which are on every corner, with a living stream going in and out, young girls and boys, men and women. England is n't all a palace, nor will average so near it as America.

Within three years after his return from England Mr. Dalton became a partner of the selling house of J. C. Howe and Company, and as such was chiefly occupied from 1854 to 1859 with management and rebuilding of the Print Works at Manchester, New Hampshire. He was perhaps more closely identified with this business than with any other in which he was ever engaged. In it he displayed to the full that remarkable capacity for organization and administration which characterized

him to the day of his death, and his energy, integrity, and skill were rewarded with marked success on every hand. The time, however, was near when he was to have the opportunity to employ these talents in another field. The first and perhaps the most notable of the many public services which it was the good fortune of Mr. Dalton to render and which later made his name almost a byword for public spirit and good citizenship in the community was in connection with the Civil War.

Like all the bravest and best of his day and generation, Mr. Dalton's attention became more and more closely focussed on the great national crisis, which loomed ever larger on the political horizon in the autumn of 1860 and the spring of 1861. An ardent Northerner, he did not underestimate (at least not as gravely as did most men) the power of the southern Confederacy, and was deeply convinced from the first that it would be necessary to put down any resistance by force of arms. The first occasion on which he offered his services to his country was in connection with the inauguration of Lincoln in March, 1861. He wrote at least twice to the authorities at Washington to ask if his presence on that occasion might not be desirable as a means of helping quell a disturbance, should such occur. Answered in the negative, he abandoned his intention of immediately repairing to the capital, but the news of the firing on Sumter which followed in April made him resolve once more to put himself at his country's service. On May 20, 1861, he accepted an appointment from Governor Andrew to act as Agent of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at Washington, whither he at once repaired, and remained (save for occasional visits to the North at moments of comparative leisure) until January, 1862. On September 27, 1861, he received another mark of Governor Andrew's confidence by his promotion to the post of assistant quartermaster-general of the militia of the Commonwealth (the appointment to date from May 23), and the following day he was commissioned with the rank of colonel.

The duties of his position in Washington are best described by the following extracts from the letter of instructions which was sent him by the Massachusetts authorities the day after his first appointment:

All supplies for our troops forwarded to Washington will be sent to your care and the vessels when the supplies are sent by water will be consigned to you. You will attend to the disposal and distribution, or storage of the supplies, according to directions sent you, or to the best of your judgment in the absence of specific directions. You will communicate with the proper departments of the U. S. Government in relation to stores sold, or troops carried, or any transport service, and see that all proper allowances are made, and all bills settled either by payment, or by being put in a shape, as to vouchers and allowance, to require no adjustment hereafter.

You will communicate with the Colonels, Quarter Masters, and commanding officers of the Mass'tts troops, and everything wanted by them will be received through you, and all requisitions and requests for supplies must be transmitted by them through you, with proper explanations, when you have not the means or authority to supply them. You will look up as far as possible and take charge of, any Massachusetts supplies, stores or equipments that have heretofore gone astray, and if they have gone into possession of U. S. officers recover them or procure payment or vouchers therefor.

You will also transact any business for the State with any of the Departments. You will have a room where you or some clerk will constantly be found, to receive messages by telegraph or otherwise, and to transact any necessary business.

You will keep an account of all expenses and report as nearly daily as practicable all your doings. You can employ a clerk *if necessary* and your reasonable and proper expenses with a proper compensation for your services will be paid by the State.

You will doubtless want a copying press. If you have occasion to procure storage, you may be able to make arrangements with some competent and responsible person who will deliver on your order.

The object of the whole arrangement is to have some one responsible and competent agent, who will know all that is done and sent from Massachusetts, and all that is wanted and received at Washington, or by the troops wherever stationed, to take care of property, take vouchers, prevent waste, and be the sole channel or communication between supply and demand. This agent you are to be until some further arrangement.

It was a position closely resembling that occupied by his grandfather at the time of the Revolution — a position for which he was pre-eminently fitted by character, ability, previous training, and inheritance.

To enumerate in detail the almost infinite variety of the tasks that were laid upon Mr. Dalton during the busy eight

months of this first stay in Washington would be tedious and unprofitable. They all required shrewd judgment, untiring energy, patience, and good temper. Reconciliation of the conflicting views of state and federal officials, rectification of justifiable grievances and soothing the makers of groundless complaints, providing for the care of the sick and wounded and settling the details of soldiers' enlistment, pay and pensions — all these formed part of his manifold duties. A few examples drawn from his correspondence will perhaps serve to make the picture clear. He had scarcely got established at Washington when an urgent letter from the military secretary of the Commonwealth arrived, directing him to represent to Secretary Cameron "the miserable state of the coast defences of Massachusetts, and more particularly of the Harbor and city of Boston." The language of the epistle is noteworthy:

> The mere statement of the fact that in all Fort Warren there is only one gun, and that in Fort Independence there are only a few barbette guns and no casemate-guns mounted, and that these constitute the entire defence provided by the Federal Government for the second city of the Union in commercial importance, ought to be sufficient, it would seem, to secure immediate attention. But when to this is added the fact that the less reasonable requests made from certain other sections of the country seem to meet with a prompt hearing, and a ready compliance, it becomes difficult to understand why the delay in attending to the defenceless condition of Boston Harbor is not a grievous injustice to our people, and we have yet to learn that Massachusetts has (either by what she has done or left undone of late, or ever), afforded any pretext for the Federal Government to neglect her representations and requests. It does indeed, appear at times, as if we should speak to a more willing ear, if we were not so unanimous in our loyalty and if the Federal administration did not count so surely always upon the contribution of blood and treasure we are glad to make for the common cause.
>
> About all we ask in respect to the Forts in Boston Harbor and along our coast is that guns which are now lying useless at Watertown and Charlestown and Chicopee and elsewhere, shall be transferred to them and mounted. They will be just as much the property and under the immediate control of the United States in the Forts, as where they are now lying; more so, because if it should become absolutely necessary to remove them, they would then be at spots on tidewater, where they could promptly be transferred to shipboard. For instance there are, and have been for many years, lying at the Foundry of Messrs. Ames at Chicopee, three 12 lb. brass guns and the same number of 12 lb. brass howitzers,

belonging to the United States, which were accepted and paid for, long ago. It would be a great convenience and a great relief if these guns, instead of lying useless stored away in a town a hundred miles away from the sea-board, could be brought down to Salem or New Bedford or Gloucester or Provincetown, all exposed points of great commercial importance, which are lying at this moment at the mercy of any privateer which may have the boldness to swoop down upon them.

But in the instance of Boston the neglect not only to do anything, but even to assign reasons for withholding action in respect to the Forts, is to us perfectly unaccountable upon any theory creditable to the patriotism and energy of those officials having the matter in charge.

With considerable difficulty, and after some delay, Mr. Dalton obtained access to Secretary Cameron, persuaded him to move the guns as requested, and received the Secretary's promise to send an armed vessel to Nantucket immediately.

A curious matter occupied his attention from the 22d to the 24th of August. A company of Massachusetts troops raised in Cambridge by a certain Captain Burgess, had been induced, by false representations, to leave the State and to attach themselves to the Fifth Regiment of the so-called Sickles Brigade in New York — thereby depriving their families of the monthly bounty of three to twelve dollars per man, recently provided for in an extra session of the Massachusetts Legislature. A prolonged correspondence between the governors of Massachusetts and New York on the subject had not availed to secure the return of these troops to a Massachusetts regiment, and the matter was finally referred to Mr. Dalton at Washington with orders to lay it before the Secretary of War. Despite the sturdy opposition of Sickles, Mr. Dalton accomplished his task in two days, and on August 24 was able to send to Governor Andrew an order for the transfer of the Burgess Company to any Massachusetts regiment he might select. The way in which he brought this about may be judged from the contents of the two following letters. To Governor Andrew he writes:

I went out to see Burgess yesterday, found him ill, but his command in good condition, so far as a company, so badly placed, could be. Was satisfied it wd. be hard for it to remain in its present position. Had a talk with Sickles, & believe he wd. oppose any change, therefore urged the matter to a final conclusion, with Secy. War this morning, before Sickles had time to make it more difficult. I *did* so settle it, in con-

formity with your instructions, and therefore wd. not advise that any further change be asked for, as it is by no means easy to get the Dept. to take hold of such a delicate matter.

And to a private friend:

In the morning, I had a hard job at War Dept. namely, to get a Mass. company now in a New York Rgt. commanded by . . . Sickles, transferred to a Mass. Rgt. He was determined the transfer should not be made, and I concluded to try metal with him, and succeeded in getting just what I wanted, which pleased me.

Another matter in which Mr. Dalton took a vigorous part was the question of the re-enlistment for three years of a large number of Massachusetts troops, who, believing that the war would be speedily brought to a close, had originally volunteered for but three months. Many of the authorities at Washington desired to retain the three months men in the three year regiments which had already been formed at the capital, instead of giving them an opportunity to return home, be regularly discharged, and re-enlisted as State troops. To this course Mr. Dalton was strongly opposed. In a letter to Governor Andrew of June 22, 1861, he wrote:

In regard to re-enlisting the 3 mos. men *here*, in 3-year Rgts. my opinion is that there will be many difficulties, and that by so doing or trying to do, we shall fail to secure many of the best. As all the world knows, these Rgts. left home suddenly, their private affairs unattended to, the majority imperfectly prepared for so long a stay as even 3 mos. Cameron, Thomas, & Mansfield all see the importance of securing these men for 3 years, or as large a proportion of them as possible. . . .

It therefore seems to me most desirable that the Regt. be ordered home soon after 4th July, be mustered out, and paid, then the men re-enlisted so far as possible. These remarks apply, generally, to our other 3 mos. men.

These views were re-echoed in Governor Andrew's reply of June 29, and after prolonged interviews at the War Department and at headquarters, Mr. Dalton made his point and was able to telegraph home on that same day: "Scott, Cameron, Thomas, Wilson all agree that 3-mos. Regts. shd. go home soon and men be re-enlisted for three years there."

Of all this busy eight months in Washington, the busiest

week of all was undoubtedly that succeeding the disaster at Bull Run. Mr. Dalton's correspondence doubles in quantity at this crisis, every line of it breathes cheerfulness and calmness in defeat, but at the same time feverish energy and a stern determination to make good lost ground. Some of his accounts of the battle are interesting. To Governor Andrew, under the date of July 24, 1861, the Wednesday after the fight, he writes:

The disaster to our soldiers is less than was feared. It is that the missing will amount to 6 to 800, all told. The loss of material is insignificant in value, with the exception of am'tion wh. is large. The accounts of Sunday's fight amount to this; our troops were marched 3 to 5 hours, after a slight breakfast, and were at once fought against fresh troops, protected by batteries and trenches, on a difficult ground, the enemy more than double in numbers. For 3 or 4 hours our troops drove back the rebels, 'till, at 4 o'ck. from a causeless, or rather utterly unnecessary reason, the entire army, in a few minutes was panic-stricken. The rout was described as fearful in the extreme. That the enemy were equally taken by surprise by this movement appears from the fact that no attempt was made to follow our flying army, otherwise it wd. have been finished and Davis wd. to-day have been in the White House. He is, however, the other side of the Union Entrenchments, the only side he will ever see.

And to a friend:

The Govt. is exerting itself to the utmost to repair the terrible blunder of Sunday morning, that beautiful day to some of us. While we were so pleasantly going up the mountain side, our troops were just going into a fight, after a march of 10 miles, and kept at this work, without any intermission for 4, 5 and 6 hours, with nothing to eat, against fresh troops, protected by their entrenchments and batteries, and more than double in n^{os}. Still inch by inch we drove them back, when, by some unaccountable misfortune, an utterly unexpected and incomprehensible panic ran through Regt. after Regt. so that the retreat was general, in a few minutes. The enemy was equally astonished, for they made no attempt to follow, or Washington wd. have been taken and Davis wd. have been in the White House to-day! . . . 'T is sad, oh very sad, yet no hesitation for a moment must be allowed. We must and shall have an army of 100,000 men ready to attack the enemy shortly, and redeem this humiliating blunder.

His words were justified by the event. The second uprising of the North in early August swept all resistance before

it. Even at Washington, where there were "too many play people to suit him," as Mr. Dalton once complained, the activity was tremendous. Two weeks later he wrote to a friend at home:

> You should see the energy and vigor with which the work is done. Our Govt. is worth fighting for, 't is it or *long years of misery*. Elegance is out of the question when the solemn fact stares us in the face of having our lives and homes safe, or at the mercy of a few bad, ambitious, faithless men. 'T is a fight for manhood, and if we fail, which we *shall not*, the happiness of long years is *gone*, past help.

Busy and useful as he was in Washington, however, Mr. Dalton was chafing at every moment to get away. He disliked the city intensely; the calls of his business and private affairs were imperative, and twice during the summer and autumn of 1861 he was obliged to ask leave of Governor Andrew to come home to the North to attend to them. On both of these occasions the stress of events at the capital caused him to return much sooner than he had intended, but with the beginning of 1862, when things had got into running order, his residence at Washington was much more frequently interrupted. In the early months of this year he paid many visits to his brother Edward, who, having been commissioned by the State of New York as surgeon to the Thirty-sixth New York Volunteers in November, 1861, had at once joined his command, and accompanied it in the forward movement of the army in March, 1862, and through the Peninsular campaign until June, when he was attacked by malarial fever and forced to return to the North.

It was perhaps these continual visits to the front that made Mr. Dalton long for a taste of real fighting and suggested his application, in March, 1862, for the post of staff officer to General Frémont. "I shall see him and try to learn his plans," he wrote to a friend, "and, after frankly confessing my ignorance of military matters, ask him if such as I can be of *real use* on his staff, and if he is going to *do* anything and wants me, I shall want to go. . . . The more I learn of his command, the more I hanker for it, for then 't will be brisk campaigning and not lying in camp, which would worry me to death, it seems to me." Several unsatisfactory interviews with the General convinced him, however, that he stood no

chance of getting this appointment, and his failure here really marks the end of the period of his greatest activity in connection with the Civil War. From that time onward he was often in Washington on special business connected with the government, sometimes at the front, visiting his brother, and once on board the "Monitor" (April 19, 1862, just six weeks after its fight with the "Merrimack"), of which he wrote home the following interesting description:

Yesterday morning some of us took a ship's boat with a crew and went up to the "Monitor" which is stationed up above the Fortress, so as to command a view of any movement of the "Merrimack" should she appear around Sewell's point, about three-fourths of a mile from where we lay at anchor. All the large ships, steamers, gunboats with a large flotilla of transports and supply vessels lay down below the Fortress, a mile and a half from the "Monitor," to be out of the way of any surprise, but the armed vessels all having steam up night and day, and constantly on the watch should a signal come for them to go up to help the "Monitor." We went on board the "M," and all through her, and I was utterly amazed to find her such a solid, strong and apparently invulnerable machine. She was well battered in the engagement, the two craft being only 3 yards apart during some of the time, so that their guns nearly *touched!* But no harm came to the little rascal which has saved this country from an awful defeat. The officers seem entirely confident that the "Merrimack" can in no way injure her, either by running her down or by the heaviest guns they can bring at her. She is certainly a splendid success, and as I say, apparently impenetrable, but I guess a pretty hot box to be in during an engagement of four hours. . . . Later in the P. M. we went down into the fleet, passing the large steamer "Vanderbilt" and others which are lying here to run down the "Merrimack," and went on board the "Minnesota," a noble Navy vessel, with 600 men and officers on board. She was attacked by the "Merrimack" during the Sunday engagement, and could not get away nor defend herself, having got aground, and she carried the marks of the shots from the "Merrimack" in many places. Had she not been saved from a second attack by the "Monitor's" most fortunate arrival, she too, would have been utterly destroyed. We left the "Minnesota" about 6 o'clock P. M. to go up to our "Saxon" and just then, heavy firing commenced between the battery of large guns on Rip Raps, opposite the Fortress, — *our* guns — and the Rebel battery on Sewell's point, which is up towards Norfolk — 3 miles off. The heavy shell would *hum* through the air and then burst with a low dull sound among the trees on Sewell's point where the Rebel battery is concealed. This firing was kept up till dark, one of our gun boats run-

ning up and opening her guns on the Rebels also. You see from this diary what interests are concentrated around this-spot — the most intense and momentous of any in the world to-day. The French War steamer and two English ones lie here, also; one of the English away up above the "Monitor," where 't is not safe for a Federal vessel to be, as she is in sight from the Rebel lookouts at Norfolk. All last night we were unloading shells into two boats at our side, but today the wind has come on to blow and the roads are so rough that nothing can lie along side, so we are delayed.

After the occasion described in this letter, there is no record of his being at Washington or at the front until more than a year afterwards, and then only for the briefest period. His appointment, 27 May, 1862, as quartermaster of the Fourth Battalion of Infantry in the First Brigade, First Division of the Militia of the Commonwealth, with the rank of first lieutenant — an office the duties of which could be for the most part performed at home — is additional evidence that thereafter he remained, for the most part, in the North. The only other official position which he held in connection with the Civil War, namely, membership in a Massachusetts Board of Recruitment, appointed July 14, 1864, by Governor Andrew under an Act of Congress of the same year to supervise the recruitment of volunteers to the credit of Massachusetts from the Rebel States, did not apparently involve any prolonged or arduous labors. His marriage to Miss Mary McGregor of Boston occurred on 25 June, 1862, directly after his permanent return to the North.

The years 1862–70 were spent by Mr. and Mrs. Dalton for the most part in Boston, where they resided at first at 59 Hancock Street, and later at 33 Commonwealth Avenue. Before 1865 they spent their summers at the old Spalding homestead in Chelmsford, but in that year they established themselves permanently at Beverly Farms. They were in Europe for a year in 1866–67, where Mr. Dalton acted as one of the agents of the Commonwealth at the Universal Exposition at Paris, charged with the special function of "furnishing to Massachusetts citizens desirous of exhibiting their industrial products at the said Exposition the requisite information and facilities." During all this period up to 1870, Mr. Dalton remained a partner of the firm of J. C. Howe and Company. As such he was

employed for the most part in Boston, but he also continued frequently to visit the Print Works at Manchester, where he was instrumental in the prevention of a dangerous strike in July, 1863. But even in this, perhaps the most retired and concentrated portion of his life, his zeal for the public service did not slacken. Besides continuing to lend a helping hand in connection with the Civil War, the early sixties saw him exceedingly active in promoting the organization of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, of which he was one of the charter members and Treasurer for four years from May 6, 1862. He remained a member of the Institute Corporation till 1879, and was re-elected to it sixteen years later, but declined to serve. A close friend and admirer of President Walker, he maintained a lively interest in the Institute long after his official connection with it was severed. In 1896 he established "The Dalton Graduate Chemical Scholarship Fund" of $5000, the income to be used "for the payment of fees of American male students, graduates of the Institute, who may wish to pursue advanced chemical study and research, especially applicable to textile industries."

The next two decades saw Mr. Dalton at the height of his long and prosperous business career. Though he had terminated his connection with J. C. Howe and Company in 1870, his intimate knowledge of the Print Works at Manchester resulted in his appointment as treasurer *pro tem.* during their reorganization in 1873. In the early seventies he was for a brief time president of the Consolidated Coal Company of Maryland, in the interest of J. M. Forbes (with whom he had had many dealings in regard to the transport of troops and supplies in Civil-War days), and in January, 1876, he became treasurer of the Great Falls Manufacturing Company for two years. Much more intimate was his association with the Merrimac Manufacturing Company, of which he was treasurer for twelve years, from 1877 to 1889; next to the Manchester Print Works, his business career was more closely identified with this corporation than with any other. His ability, integrity, and success in these different enterprises were speedily recognized, and are attested by his election as director of the Suffolk National Bank, January 12, 1876, and January 13, 1886; as trustee and vice-president of the Provident Institution

for Savings in the Town of Boston, December 15, 1875, and December 18, 1889; as director and vice-president of the New England Trust Company, May 12, 1875, and March 31, 1879, and as director of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, January, 1879. All but the first of these offices he held at the time of his death. His reputation, moreover, was far from being merely local. His appointment by President Harrison in June, 1889, as a special commissioner to proceed to Europe to obtain the views of the principal governments of that continent in regard to the re-establishment of a common standard for the free coinage of silver, and his choice as judge of manufacturing at the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893 (personal affairs obliged him to decline both these positions), indicate that he was widely known outside Massachusetts and New England.

Interesting and valuable as is the story of his business career and preferments, one is tempted to hurry over it in order to concentrate on what was even more thoroughly and particularly characteristic of Mr. Dalton, — the wide and varied range of his public services. The Union Club and Brookline Country Club bear eloquent testimony to his activity in furthering the cause of social intercourse and good fellowship in this community; he was one of the founders of each of these organizations, and labored long and successfully for the prosperity of both. Together with the late Edmund Dwight, he started the Wintersnight Dinner Club. Another organization of which he was the founder and first president was the Arkwright Club of New England Manufacturers, whose beneficent advice and efforts in regard to the tariff have, on several occasions, prevented hasty and unwise legislation. Mr. Dalton's keen interest and sympathy in the problems of the poor and unemployed are attested by his chairmanship of the Citizens' Relief Committee at the time of the panic of 1893, and by his vice-presidency of the Legal Aid Society. But of all his many public activities, the three in which his name stands out most conspicuously are his services to the Massachusetts General Hospital, to the Park and Subway Commissions. A brief paragraph may well be devoted to each.

Born and brought up in close touch with the medical profession, Mr. Dalton was always deeply interested in the question of caring for the sick, injured, and infirm. His brothers

John and Edward were trained physicians, and though his own calling in life was another, Mr. Dalton's knowledge of and interest in the medical profession were far greater than those of the ordinary man of affairs. Much of his correspondence from Washington in Civil-War days deals with the care and transportation home of the sick and wounded, to the improvement of which he contributed valuable suggestions; and on his return to the North in 1862 he became one of the most zealous workers in behalf of the Sanitary Commission. His connection with the Massachusetts General Hospital began in 1866 with his election as a trustee; it was rendered closer on February 1, 1888, by his election as president of its corporation, an office which he held to the day of his death. During the forty-two years of his connection with this institution he gave it his unwearied, loyal, and efficient service. He was a prominent member of the committee for negotiating the sale of the old site at Somerville, and chairman of that for the building of the new McLean Hospital at Waverley in the early nineties, offices which he performed with such success as to cause the following minute to be adopted by the Hospital trustees:

> The trustees desire to bear witness to the services of the President of the Corporation during the last three years. Accepting the chairmanship of the McLean Building Committee, and devoting time and skill to its constant demands, he transformed his office from a merely presiding to a laborious and highly efficient one. An enterprise of such magnitude, involving so much to the present and the future of the Hospital, could have been neither begun nor ended without authoritative supervision, and this has been performed by Mr. Dalton in a manner to claim our respect and our gratitude.

As president of the Hospital Corporation Mr. Dalton delivered an interesting address at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the first application of ether at the hospital in September, 1846. Together with his younger brother, Henry, he established in 1891 the "Dalton Scholarship" of $10,000 for "Investigation in the Science of Medicine" in memory of the services to the hospital of his brothers John Call and Edward Barry; and he left an addition of $15,000 to this sum in his will.

Mr. Dalton's services as member of the Boston Park Com-

mission began with the first appointment of that body in 1875 and lasted till his resignation in 1884. During eight of these nine years he acted as chairman of the commission. He was the author of its most important report (that of 1876), in which the general scheme of the Boston parks, as at present existing, was first laid out; and the successful accomplishment of that scheme in subsequent years was chiefly due to his energy and executive ability. The duties of his office were by no means easy, the frequent necessity of sacrificing the property of private persons and corporations demanding both tact and fearlessness in high degree, but Mr. Dalton never wavered, and carried through the work which had been laid upon him in a manner which commanded the admiration even of those who suffered on account of it. The merits of the general plan which he originated are too many to be enumerated here, but among them two are deserving of special mention. First, the scheme, from the moment of its inception, was one susceptible of elaboration and development *pari passu* with the growth of Boston: the commissioners studied carefully the park systems of the five American cities which already possessed them, and also those of the chief capitals of Europe before they came to any decision, and were thus enabled to devise a plan which should take into account all the possibilities of municipal expansion. Second, the trenchant arguments with which Mr. Dalton and his colleagues refuted in advance the objections of those who dreaded the expense which a park system would entail are beyond all praise. "We think money so expended (in laying out park systems)," they wrote, "will be well invested and quickly returned, by betterments, and by the increase in taxable value of all surrounding property . . . and the rate of taxation will thereby be reduced rather than increased." "It is not an extravagant proposition, though unsusceptible of proof, that more taxable capital has been driven out of the city and invested in neighboring towns during the past twenty years, for lack of a frontage for dwellings similar to that around the Common and Public Garden, than would pay for the lands and improvements of the parks located under this Act, and that within ten years after laying out the said Parks, a larger sum will be returned within the city, legitimately belonging to it, than the cost of these lands and improvements." And again, referring to sanitary conditions

"always paramount to such as are purely financial," quoting from the report of 1874, he says, "Nothing is so costly as sickness and disease, nothing so cheap as health. Whatever promotes the former is the worst sort of extravagance — whatever fosters the latter the truest economy." In view of municipal experience in this country within the last thirty years, how sane, how just, how far-sighted a statement is this!

It was not only in beautifying Boston, but also in increasing its facilities for transportation that Mr. Dalton rendered important services to the community. He was one of the three members of the first Subway Commission, appointed by Mayor Matthews January 1, 1894, and authorized to investigate the advisability of constructing a subway for electric cars at a cost not to exceed $2,000,000. Within a few months after its appointment the commission reported that a subway was imperatively necessary in order to relieve the congested condition of traffic in Tremont Street and elsewhere, but that $2,000,000 would be a sum entirely inadequate for the satisfactory building of it. The ultimate result of this report was the appointment, in July, 1894, of a Transit Commission, consisting of the three who already comprised the Subway Commission and two others, appointed by Governor Greenhalge. To this body Mr. Dalton gave more than twelve years of loyal and efficient service. His connection with it did not finally terminate till October 11, 1906. During this period the subway as it exists to-day was constructed, leased to the West End Street Railway Company, and connected with the Elevated. Mr. Dalton's services to the commission were valuable in every department of its work, but special emphasis should be laid on his general business experience, his ability in valuing condemned real estate, in negotiating with those from whom it was to be taken, and in estimating the probable cost of extensions and complicated operations. As in the days of his service on the Park Commission, he was exceedingly fond of visiting in person the scene of excavations and building, with a keen eye to detect shirking and imperfect work, and an ever-ready word of encouragement and praise for those who deserved it. On two occasions in particular his services were indispensable, first, during the negotiations with the Boston and Maine Railroad concerning the purchase of the site of the old station in Haymarket Square; second, in drafting the very complicated

lease of the subway to the West End Street Railway. It should be added that from the very first he was an ardent supporter of the plan of putting the electric cars underground, and in the early days of the commission labored strenuously, and in the end with complete success, to bring others who favored the plan of surface cars, and the appropriating of a slice of the Common to give them room, to his point of view.

Of Mr. Dalton's connection with this Society, there is little that remains to be said. Though in no sense a historian, his election, which occurred at the stated meeting of June 9, 1904, was well merited on account of his wide and intelligent reading and his active interest and participation in public affairs; and it may not be out of place to add that it would almost certainly have occurred earlier had he not unselfishly maintained the precedence of the claims of a much younger man. The President has already spoken of his two papers concerning his own family's history and traditions, and of his memoir of his brother John, whose death, in 1889, was perhaps the greatest sorrow of Mr. Dalton's life. His rare attendance at our monthly meetings is explained by his increasing deafness in later years, while his lively interest in the Society's work is attested by his regular reading of its publications. His sole contribution to our Proceedings was a brief monograph, printed in the form of an open letter to Senator Crane, and presented to the Society at the stated meeting of January 11, 1906, on the advisability of regulating the issue of postage stamps. In it Mr. Dalton recommended the adoption of the Houdon head of Washington on all stamps except those of the one-cent denomination, and for those the head of Franklin (the first Postmaster-General of this country). This suggestion he took pains to justify historically, by a number of data and precedents. The very gratifying result has been the recent issue (February, 1909) by former Postmaster-General George v. L. Meyer of a new series of postage stamps, on a scheme almost precisely identical with that suggested by Mr. Dalton, with the Houdon head of Washington on all denominations except the one-cent, and ten-cent special delivery stamps; the one-cent stamp has the Franklin head. An interesting letter of Mr. Meyer to Mr. Adams on this subject, and a minute adopted by the Society thereon, are printed in our Proceedings for March, 1909.

This brief enumeration of the organizations and societies of which Mr. Dalton was a member and the enterprises in which he bore a part, needs to be supplemented by a few excerpts from his correspondence in order to reveal the keenness and range of his interest in public affairs. A friend in London (a relative by marriage) writes the following description of Mr. Dalton's letters to him:

They covered the period 1902–1907, and abounded in shrewd inquiries and pithy comments on public affairs, British and American. In a sense, no doubt, their interest was personal and ephemeral, since they were composed simply for the reader to whom they were addressed, without either appeal to a wider audience or straining after literary effect. But of his writing it may truthfully be said that the style was the man — the man as he was — plain, forcible, direct, without a superfluous word or an irrelevant idea, equally free from parenthesis, repetition, and periphrasis. Many an accomplished man of letters has laboured for years, and laboured in vain, to acquire the art which seemed to have been given by Nature to Charles Dalton or unconsciously developed along with his character. Probably he never hesitated over a phrase or considered the turning of a sentence. He just put down his thoughts as they came into his mind — confident that they would present themselves on paper in due order, whether of sequence or logic. Let any reader who thinks this an easy matter make the experiment of describing some scene he has witnessed and then compare his performance with the specimens given in this memoir of Charles Dalton's quality of self expression. How he attained this sure literary power I have no means of guessing. All his life he was a reader of good books, and without purposed imitation may have formed himself on some great model. But he also made his way through a huge mass of contemporary stuff — newspapers, magazines, official publications, and books of the current season — which from the literary point of view would be mere rubbish, tolerable only for the information given, and compiled without sense of form. But against the demoralizing influence of all this bastard English, his style was immune. From the press, and the perishable trumpery which men of affairs must deal with, he took nothing but the new facts and fresh ideas for which his mind was always eager.

He was never tired of learning. His alertness and receptivity were still unaffected when I first came to know him, and he was then already an old man; his curiosity was but less remarkable than his open-mindedness. He started life, no doubt, with a fairly strong crop of anti-British prejudices. But these had been toned down by travel in England and close intercourse with individual Englishmen. If he liked

us at all he would take us to his heart as frankly as though we had been born in Massachusetts itself. But he was always ready for a fight, either across the dinner table or by correspondence. He fairly revelled in a stiff argument, and as he seldom made a statement for which he could not give chapter and verse, he was a tough antagonist. Once I caught him tripping. Just by way of "drawing" him I had repeated in a letter the statement (casually recalled from a forgotten magazine or pamphlet) that an eminent Abolitionist for whom Charles Dalton entertained a special esteem had himself been a slave-holder. By return of post came an indignant repudiation with the demand for my authority. The prospect of research in order to make good my random assertion was somewhat disconcerting. But there was no way out of it. Before I had entered on my labours with the British Museum catalogue, however, I received another letter from Boston — ruefully admitting the charge. Charles Dalton had himself gone laboriously into the question, and found the case proved against his view, though with extenuating circumstances. The incident seems worth recording as proof of the trouble which a busy man would take in a matter which he thought important and of his intellectual candour. If he had left me to myself, I should probably have been obliged to withdraw my statement.

When the question of protecting British industries and fostering Imperial trade through a revised tariff was raised by Mr. Chamberlain in 1903, Charles Dalton engaged with me in a long and somewhat detailed correspondence. While he did not believe that the people of Great Britain would ever agree to what he called "monkeying with the food supply" by curtailment of United States imports, he was quite as warm in support of defensive operations in favour of British home manufactures as though the new duties would not be largely directed against American competitors. The idea that such a policy might generate bad blood between the two countries he laughed to scorn. Moreover he was at considerable pains to show that the enhanced prices in America were more than compensated by the higher rate of wages and salaries. He spent quite a number of days in collecting and arranging statistics aimed at showing that the workingmen and poorer class of clerks in England would not necessarily suffer under a protective tariff.

On the fishery disputes between Great Britain and the United States — or, perhaps one should say, between the London and Washington governments — it was natural that a strongly American line should be taken by a man associated with the Republican party in Massachusetts and a cordial, if occasionally discriminating, supporter of recent administrations. But his chief anxiety was that all such outstanding questions should be brought to a satisfactory settlement. When a change was made, a little time after, in the British Embassy at Washington,

he wrote at once to make all possible inquiries about the new representative of Great Britain. As a man of the world, who was acquainted with some of the most influential persons in American politics, he knew how important a part may be played in public affairs by the personal qualities of the diplomatists employed by a Foreign Power. On national enterprises in which he took pride, such as the completion of the Trans-Isthmian Canal, Charles Dalton spared no trouble in collecting and forwarding information that might usefully be circulated in England. He delighted also in giving me fresh and unconventional sketches of eminent countrymen. Over and over again, when writing, from the British point of view, upon some international controversy, I have found my phrases mitigated, perhaps my judgment modified, by recalling a sentence in one of Charles Dalton's lucid, reasoned, and pointed letters. That his opinions were untinged by patriotic prepossession he would never have pretended, but his sincerity was so obvious, his outlook so broad, that one felt confident, on reading what he had written, that one was being brought into communion with the highest individual expression of the dominant American feeling.

A few passages from his letters to another London friend attest the truth of this description. "Do not destroy your Lords!" he wrote in 1885. "It is said Americans admire them, and so they do, your cathedrals and castles and great estates. If you want Democracy, come here or go to any of your colonies, but keep Old England for what she has been and is, Lords and all." And again in another letter:

> You cannot approve of the Republican protective policy, nor do I wonder at it from an English point of view, for I suppose such a policy would be fatal to England. But our conditions permit, or rather, demand, our own methods, whereby, as I suggested to you, America may become, as she rapidly is doing, a self supporting nation . . . Why should we follow in England's wake [in regard to foreign expansion] . . . Our civilizing functions are exercised upon subjects coming to us instead of our going to them. Do you appreciate this task? A daily stream, 1500 to 2000 strong, every day in the year, mostly ignorant, with wrong ideas, many with vicious habits to be trained to become respectable, voting citizens. It is a contract which no other nation would, or perhaps could, undertake.

The crowning reward of this long and active life of upright character and disinterested public service was a truly beautiful old age and a blessedly peaceful death. The gentlest, sunniest side of his character was all to the fore in his declining years,

> And that which should accompany old age
> As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends

he enjoyed in fullest measure. His earlier activities were of course diminished, but by no means entirely cut off, and further restriction, which might have been irksome, and which his physician contemplated advising in his last days, were spared him by the quiet sleep into which he fell, all unconscious of his approaching end, on the morning of 23 February, 1908, and from which he knew no waking.

The salient feature of Mr. Dalton's character, as the foregoing sketch has been primarily intended to show, was helpfulness — helpfulness in the largest sense of the word, helpfulness toward individuals and towards the community at large. Some of his more distinguished public services have been already touched upon; those which he rendered to single persons, though impossible to enumerate, formed an equally important part of his life. Though a generous giver of money, he preferred the more ambitious and active methods of aiding by unstinted devotion of time, energy, and patience. A contemporary and friend of thirty years says of him:

> He was a very rare man in his simplicity, his high standards, his never failing public spirit, his generosity and his kindliness. This community owes him more than many realize, not only for what he did in so many ways to help his fellow-citizens, but for his example, — for his life, which was a constant example. In a generation when men are advertising themselves, seeking offices, honors and money, he was conspicuous for seeking none of these, and asking only for opportunities to serve. We have too few such men, and the loss of such a man is a public calamity.

Next to this quality of helpfulness should be placed the remarkable energy, masterfulness, and virility of his character. Shirking and laziness were abhorrent to him. He saw the end to be gained with unvarying clearness, and was direct and forcible in his methods of attaining it, and perhaps sometimes a little hasty in his judgments of those who disagreed with him. He had his full share of *gaudium certaminis*, and never flinched from any task which demanded a struggle or a contest. But he never suffered a temporary difference of opinion

permanently to cloud his relations with his fellow-men: he never let the sun go down upon his wrath, nor permitted any vexatious incident to disturb the current of his naturally cheerful and genial disposition. His was a conspicuous case of the ripening and mellowing of old age. Without abating one jot of the vigor and forcibleness which had characterized him from the first, he grew wonderfully in the complementary virtues of gentleness, patience, and serenity.

He was a most genial and charming host, and, once more like his grandfather, "was fond of generous living and accustomed to make ample provision for his bodily comfort, but was never excessive in any personal indulgence." His bearing was always distinguished by a certain gallant quality, peculiarly his own, which marked him off as one of eminence and distinction among his fellow-men. To those in his employment he was unvaryingly kind, "his help to them being usually given in the form of a surprise," as one of them writes. He delighted in the society of younger men and women, and they in turn esteemed it the greatest privilege to sit by his fireside or at his table, and to hear and participate in the interesting conversation that was always to be found there. With every age and walk of life he felt a warm bond of sympathy; he never wavered nor faltered to the very end; and he died, as he had lived, loyal and devoted to those he loved, a brave and faithful servant of his country and of mankind.

MAY MEETING, 1909.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT in the chair.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

In the absence of the Librarian, the usual list of donors to the Library was read by the Corresponding Secretary.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported and exhibited additions to the Cabinet.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from the School Committee of Boston acknowledging the receipt of the resolution of the Society against changing the name of the Winthrop School.

The PRESIDENT reported for the Council the appointment of the following committees:

House Committee,

Messrs. Grenville H. Norcross, Samuel S. Shaw, and Worthington C. Ford.

Finance Committee,

Messrs. C. F. Adams, Grenville H. Norcross, and Charles P. Greenough.

The PRESIDENT then appointed as the

Committee to publish the Proceedings of the Society:

Messrs. C. F. Adams, Edward Stanwood, and James Ford Rhodes.

Professor Hart and Mr. Mead were appointed delegates to the celebrations in connection with the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Calvin, the laying of the corner-stone of the International Monument of the Reformation at Geneva, Switzerland, and to the jubilee festival of the University of Geneva from the second to the tenth of July next.

It was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury, to be applied to such purposes as the Council may direct.

Colonel T. W. HIGGINSON presented to the Society one of the silver medals given by General Butler to his colored

soldiers in Virginia, bearing the words "Distinguished for Courage Campaign before Richmond, 1864."

Mr. QUINCY made the following communication:

I have here a letter recently found among some papers in my possession. It has reference to that memorable visit of Lafayette to this country, where, nearly fifty years before, he had fought for the liberties of the colonies. Although the visit occurred several years before my birth, I sometimes find it difficult to believe that I was not present at his glowing reception; for the wave of enthusiasm that then passed over the land had not quite subsided during my boyhood. Constantly hearing of incidents connected with his remarkable progress, I seemed to enjoy, although at second-hand, something of the fervor awakened by personal contact with the nation's guest. While historians faithfully give us the facts connected with an historic incident, they are unable to reproduce the cotemporary emotion which environed it. For this we must look to such personal records as the one I shall now read. This letter was addressed to my grandmother by Mrs. Ann Tracy, an excellent woman and a warm friend of its recipient. It abounds in such feminine emphasis as capitals and frequent underscorings were held to convey. Mr. Tracy was doing pastoral duty in the town of Biddeford, Maine. Both husband and wife did no more than share in the general uplift of feeling excited by the presence of Lafayette.

Tuesday morng. June 28. [1825]

What will you say, my dear friend, when I tell you that the Illustrious Lafayette worshipped at *our little Church* on Sabbath morning! Will not all your sympathy be awakened for M^r^ Tracy,[1] when I tell you that he had not received the slightest intimation of the *possibility* of such an event — till Sabbath morn^g^ *half an hour before the service* commenced! A note from Col Emery had been forwarded on Saturday eve^g^ to M^r^ George Thacher announcing the intention of our National

[1] Rev. Thomas Tracy (H. C. 1806) was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, March 26, 1781, married Ann, daughter of John and Ann (Roberts) Bromfield, of Newburyport, and became on January 14, 1824, pastor of the Second Religious Society in Biddeford, Maine, where he remained until he was installed as pastor of the Second Parish in Saco on November 21, 1827. Some notes on the visit of Lafayette to Saco and Biddeford at this time, taken from the "American Patriot" (Portland, Maine), are to be found in D. E. Owen's "Old Times in Saco" (1891), 126.

guest to attend meeting at Biddeford — *but it failed* — and Mr Thacher knew nothing of it till Lafayette arrived in Saco on Sunday. Mr T drove over instantly to inform Mr Tracy. For a few moments my husband said he felt paralyzed by the unexpectedness of the thing — and the certainty that nothing could *then* be done suitable to the occasion. After talking a few moments with Mr Thacher he determined to take a sermon whh he had formerly delivered from the words — "On that night was Belshazzar, king of the Chaldeans, *slain!*" — whh he hastily looked over — and wrote two additional pages at the close, *for the occasion*, with the rapidity of lightning. I thought at first I would copy these two pages for you — but conclude to wait till I can send or *read* to you the whole sermon, because the *value* of *those* depended upon their being viewed in *connection with what went before*. Suffice it to say, that after having cast into merited contempt & obscurity the splendours of *impious Kings* and *Emperors* — the base *oppressors* and *tyrants* of the earth, — that by a happy transition he directed the attention of his hearers to the Illustrious Individual *before them* — the friend of America — of human-kind &c &c. Mr. T. went thro' all the Services with a *devout* composedness of manner — that would have delighted you I am sure. Lafayette sat in Mr H. S. Thacher's pew — where I have always sat — and I had the pleasure of pressing his hand to my lips as the venerable man extended his to shake hands with me — the compliment was returned! He waited till Mr T. came down the aysle and then taking his hand thanked him cordially for the welcome he had given him, &c. &c.

Wed. Morng. Is it not a singular fact that I should have been permitted (living as we do in this unimportant Village) to pay in person to this Illustrious Man — all the respect and homage whh it was in my power to pay — to *this Man*, whose fame and friendship for our Country — awakened a thrill of enthusiastic admiration in *my earliest childhood!* — And that *my husband* should have been permitted to preach in his presence, & to have received his marked approbation. We have heard, altho' it may not be true — that Lafayette had expressed more than once a strong desire of possessing a copy of the Sermon.

Mr T's text in the aftn was — but I have not time for another word — we must wait till we meet face to face. . . . Truly yr. affect

A. T.

[Addressed] To Mrs E. S. Quincy.
No 1. Hamilton Place. Boston.

Post. Script. Wed. Aftn.

My dearest friend — Mr George Thacher has just been in to see Mother and express his regret that *she* could not have been at Meeting on Sunday. He said that Lafayette and his Suite expressed the highest gratification *at the moment* and that he had *charged* Col Emery,

who accompanied him on his return as far as Dover to call, *for him*, upon Mr Tracy — and express *again* his gratification and regards. I told Mr Thacher I had been writing to you — and he directly asked me if I had mentioned *the Amen?* — on my answering in the negative — he said it was a great omission — and begged me to insert it at his instance. As Mr Tracy closed one period with the following words "Yes — welcome and imitate our Nation's Guest — The Champion of freedom — the friend of human-kind!" a distinct Amen was *shouted* in a clear *loud* voice — it was startling, as the report of a pistol! We afterwards understood that it proceeded from a warm-hearted *Methodist*, a Capt of a Coaster from Cape Cod — and who always attends Mr T's meeting when in Town.

Mr. Ford, for Mr. HOWE, called attention to the letter of Nicholas Biddle given below:

In 1824 Congress voted to Lafayette the sum of $200,000 in recognition of his services in the War of Independence. The General was then in this country, and wrote to Nicholas Biddle, president of the Bank of the United States, asking for advice on investing his gift, mentioning the stocks of the Bank and of the United States as being present in his mind. The reply of Biddle is now among the Bancroft Papers, deposited in the Society. It was received by Bancroft, in 1867, from Samuel L. Gouverneur, the son-in-law of James Monroe, but the occasion of his sending it is not known. The letter marks Biddle as a good adviser, and not as a "promoter" of his own institution. The national six per cent stocks were then selling from par (1812) to 9 premium, and the Bank stock was quoted at 117 and 120.

BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, Jany, 18, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR, — I now resume the subject of my letter of the 15th inst. You have done me the honor to ask my opinion as to the best mode of investing $120,000, intimating your disposition to place them in some national fund such as the shares of the Bank of the United States, or the stock of the Government of the U. States. In recommending a choice between these two modes of investment, my connexion with the Bank imposes on me a delicate task. I do not hesitate to say, what my position in some degree enables me to know, that the Bank of the United States offers a good and safe investment, and that everything in its present situation seems to promise its future prosperity. Nevertheless, I will not suffer my attachment to its interests to conceal from me, that it is a very extensive and complicated establish-

ment, which the most active administration cannot preserve from the hazard of loss; that it is necessarily exposed to many contingencies, and that the value of its stock has undergone many fluctuations. Now, we are all interested that your fortune should hereafter be subjected to the least possible hazard and that you should be perfectly secure in the enjoyment of the sum which the nation has repaid to you. You have already suffered too much for us, we must not permit you to suffer by us. Altho' therefore I have entire confidence in the stock of the Bank of the United States, I say with the utmost frankness, that I do not recommend to you an investment in that stock, nor in any Bank stock, the profits of which are naturally unequal and contingent, but advise in preference the stock of the United States which, though it may yield a lower interest, is beyond the reach of all casualties. The only difficulty in relation to this is, that the abundance of money has so raised the price of the public funds as to expose a purchaser at the present moment to a considerable sacrifice. To obviate this inconvenience, I have this morning consulted my colleagues the Directors of the Bank, who I knew were anxious to testify their respect and regard for you, and they have accordingly, with the utmost promptness and cheerfulness, by an unanimous vote of the Board, authorized me to assure you,
That if it be agreeable to you to share in the late loan of four and a half per cent stock, taken by the Bank, they will with great pleasure furnish you with the amount you wish, at par. and moreover,
That the Bank will undertake to remit to you in France, every quarter, the dividends received on it, without any commission for their agency.

It gives me great satisfaction to communicate to you this determination, which, though it might readily have been anticipated, will yet furnish an evidence of the disposition which the Directors of the Bank feel, in common with all their fellow citizens, to promote your interests. If after consideration, you should think it advisable to adopt this suggestion, it shall be immediately carried into execution, when I hear from you; and in the mean time I remain, with great respect and esteem, very sincerely yrs.

N Biddle
Prest.

General Lafayette
Washington Cola.

Mr. Hunnewell, in presenting one of twenty-five copies of a reprint of his paper on Boston, Lincolnshire, England, asked attention to statements recently made that the Reverend John Cotton's precious sermon, "God's Promise to His Plantation," 1630, had become nearly unknown. In this paper, read twenty-two years ago to a large meeting of the Bostonian Society in the Old State House, he had spoken of it, and

quoted from it, using a fine copy that he bought nearly thirty years ago and still owns. He also spoke of current errors about St. Botolph's Church, of the grandeur of its tower, and of the inadvisability of copying the body of the church for a cathedral in our Boston, as has been suggested.

Mr. FORD communicated the following letters:

In the Washburn collection of Autographs, in this Society, are a number of letters of James Monroe, most of which are addressed to his friend, John Taylor, of Caroline, the most earnest supporter of republican ideas in public policy to be found in Virginia. Three of the letters, and each of high importance, have been printed in Hamilton's "Writings of James Monroe," and are not repeated in this place. These letters are dated Paris, June 23, 1795; Albemarle, September 10, 1810; and Richmond, January 23, 1811. Of so great importance did Monroe regard his letter of June 23, 1795, that he prepared no less than six copies, sending one each to Dr. Logan, Aaron Burr, John Beckley, R. R. Livingston, Thomas Jefferson, and John Taylor. The letters now printed are new material, needed to complete the record of the Hamilton compilation. To them have been added a few taken from the Jefferson Papers in the possession of the Society.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.[1]

ALBEMARLE Jany. 16, 1790.

DEAR SIR, — The badness of the weather and Mrs. M. ill health has prevented our calling on you since we saw you. As the people of the county entend to make you their acknowledgments for y^{r} services, some time in the course of the ensuing week, I have thought it might not be improper to give you a view of the manner in w^{h} they propose to express them. I forwarded y^{r} letters by the post to Richmond on Monday.

I wish to consult you upon some concerns of importance to the bearer, my brother. He has been in Scotland since 1783, and is now in his 19th year. His acquirments in the classics are respectable. In the line of philosophy, history, &c less so, owing to his having been depriv'd of the admonition of a friend, who had return'd to this country, when it became of the most importance. In this stage his youthful propensities for gaiety and society, gain'd the ascendency over his

[1] From the Jefferson Papers.

prudence, and took him in a great measure from his studies, and led him into some expences that were improper, and wh he sincerely laments. He is now with me reading the law and applies to it with great assiduity. I think his genius equal to any thing he may undertake and I have no doubt of the necessary exertions on his part for the future. The consideration that gives me the greatest uneasiness is, his having contracted an impedement since he left this country; it has however diminish'd since his arrival. Whether he will ever get the better of it, or if it shod. always remain as at present, whether with this difficulty to encounter, it wod. be proper for him to undertake it or pursue some other course of life I cannot well determine. Your opinion upon this subject will be most agreable to us both, and if it shod. be in favor of his pursuing the law, wod. encourage him much in the undertaking. I[t] has occurr'd to me that as you will necessarily leave this State and Peter Carr has determin'd on the study of the law, that perhaps I might be of some service to him. He might calculate on little else than some aid in the practice, of wh. indeed I am but badly inform'd myself. A residence in this neighbourhood might be cheaper. If any induc'ment shod. make it for his benefit, I need not assure you with what pleasure I wod embrace an opportunity to serve him. As the young man will expect some conversation with you it may increase his impediment. With the greatest respect and esteem I am affecty y[r] friend and Servt.

Jas. Monroe.

To Thomas Jefferson.[1]

Fredericksburg May 26. 1790.

Dear Sir, — Your Friends have been made uneasy by a report of y[r] indisposition, but flatter themselves it has been remov'd ere this, as they hear it was a periodical complaint you have had before & wh. was never accompanied with any dangerous symptoms. I have just return'd from Albemarle whither I went lately from the chancery to qualify in the circuit court of the U. States. The Judges were detain'd only one day as they had no business before them. Mr. Hanson will I presume commence a process immediately, of which you will have the earliest intelligence.

No remarkable or interesting event hath happen'd in our neighbourhood since you left us. Tis a theatre from wh. you are to expect nothing of a publick nature, and the restoration of Col. Lewis's health and the marriage of his daughter to Mr. Miller the only instances of change have I presume, been mention'd by himself. We came here to the district court and Mrs. Monroe has been since detain'd by the ill-health of our child, who is however now on the recovery. I have to

[1] From the Jefferson Papers.

attend the residue of the chancery term, the Genl. Court, and the appeals, w^h^. latter will consume great part of July. I have already pass'd a round that has been extremely laborious. I have only to wish and to bear with patience the revolution of the year to the month of Decr. w^h^. will restore me again to my family in my own house in Albemarle, and to hope we may again have the pleasure of your company there.

To compensate for the trouble of an occasional remembrance, I have little to give you in return, except the best wishes for your health and welfare of your very affectionate friend and servant,

Jas. Monroe.

To the Governor of Virginia.[1]

Philadelphia, May 9, 1792.

Sir, — We have the honor to inform your Excellency that the late Session of Congress ended yesterday, to convene again on the first Monday in November next.

As tis the duty of the Secretary of State to transmit to the Executives of the Several States, the acts of Congress as they pass, it will be unnecessary for us to trouble you with details, already furnished by that department. To these therefore we beg leave to refer for the acts of the late Session.

We were very desirous of obtaining an act explanatory of that which passed in the Second Session of the former Congress, to secure beyond controversy the rights of the officers of the Virginia line, to lands lying north west the river Ohio, and reserved to them by the act of cession to the United States: but the defeat of Genl. St. Clair and the exposed situation of the frontiers prevented any arrang'ment for the sale of the lands of the United States and it was impossible to procure a particular provision in their favor. It will most probably be taken up next Session, upon which occasion we shall pay due attention to the injunctions of the Legislature on that subject.

The claims of Individuals that were transmitted to us, we mentioned in a former letter had been deposited with Colonel Davis. An act has since passed repealing the limitation against those founded on personal service. We have therefore requested him to present these to the proper officers of the department of the Treasury for adjustment, and to communicate to your Excellency the result for the information and benefit of the parties interested.

We had several conferences with the Secretary of war upon the claim of the State for reimbursement of her expenditures in protection of the frontier, and were assured that not only the whole amount (a trifling sum excepted) shod. be paid but that he would forward it to the Treasury of the State. As he considered himself authorized by exist-

[1] The letter is in the writing of James Monroe.

ing acts to make this payment, and the residue could not be obtained without an act of Congress, we thought it better to give it up than make application for it. We presume the amount has been accordingly forwarded to the Treasurer.

In complyance with the instructions of the General Assembly we again attempted to open the doors of the Senate, and with the like success that had heretofore attended similar motions. A majority of 9 were opposed to it. Tis extraordinary that although more than half the States in the union have expressed themselves in its favor, the opposition should still continue so numerous and powerful. Several of the members from those States which had given the most pointed instructions, or declarations in its favor; were against it. A proceeding so novel in a representative assembly can not long sustain itself against the interest and the voice of a free people. Altho' therefore the prospect is at present gloomy and perhaps distant, yet we cannot but confide it will ultimately take effect. You will be pleased to communicate the above to the General Assembly. We have the honor to be with great respect and esteem your Excelly's most obedient & very humble servants.

RICHARD HENRY LEE
JAS. MONROE.

To JOHN TAYLOR.

DEAR SIR, — The proceedings at Richmond in harmony with those at Phila. and New York set on foot by the enemies to the French revolution and republican govt., require to be counteracted. In our discussion of the means we have lamented we were not aided by yr. councils. Mr. Madison however sends you the result of our deliberations on the subject, in hope, it will be modified by yr. self and the very respectable old gentleman[1] whose cooperation is so much desired for the purpose of giving dignity and effect at home and abroad to the proceeding.

To him you can introduce the subject in such manner as will be best calculated to produce the effect. The Richmond Gentry are disposed to become active hereafter. They want to produce an effect elsewhere. If it passes unnoticed it will be considered as the sense of the State. No person shod. be inactive who disapproves the proceeding. I hope therefore you will cast yr. eyes about you as to the neighbring counties, and prevent their being led astray, for tis probable attempts will be made on them from the Richmond committee.

I must request information whether you take yr. family to Phila. and intend to take part of our house or not. I think it will accomodate us fully and the arrangment will be very agreeable to us. But if you are fearful we and our families cannot live in peace together, and

[1] "Judge Pendleton," — note on the MS.

that disputes may take place abt. the furniture, the wood, the servants, the rate of expenses, etc. upon which the best friends sometimes, after being at first only cool and reserved, break out into open rupture, say so. In that case I advise you to procure immediately other accomodations as they will be scarce and difficult to be procured. I wish your decision at present only upon acct. of our friend, Mr. Madison to whom I have agreed to furnish a room or two in case you prefer seperate quarters. My best respects to Mrs Taylor and believe me, sincerely yr. friend and servant

JAS. MONROE

ALBEMARLE, Augt. 29, 1793.

TO JOHN TAYLOR.

ALBEMARLE, Jany 8. 1798.

DEAR SIR, — I have long wished to see you for two reasons (to mention no more) first because I shod. really be glad to see you. I shod. be glad to see if you look as young as you used to do, if your hair has grown out or is still kept short; and in general to see what effect the time which has intervened has produc'd upon yr. figure since I saw you last. The second is to discourse a little upon publick topics. I have been kept at home by several causes since my return, or shod. have visited you, first, I meant to give an acct. of the conduct of our admn. as well as my own,[1] and therefore cod not leave home till very lately: second I felt a kind of repugnance to going abt. among my old friends till I had given that acct. I wod. mention a third one and a fourth but these are enough. By this time I presume my book is with you, and in consequence as the principal difficulties are got over I have serious thoughts of going to Richmond, especially if by return of post I hear the Assembly will be setting when I cod. get down, and in consequence may calculate on the pleasures of meeting with you and many others whom I greatly wish to see.

For the present I send you in confidence two papers whose contents you ought to know. The first is a copy of a letter from Gen.[1] W.[2] to me, in reply to one I wrote him, telling him that his to Gov.[r] M.[3] had fall'n into the hands of the Fh. govt. and had produc'd an ill effect.[4] You will observe that his letter referred to (as appears by this document) fell into the hands of the French govt. just at the time that govt. made known to me its discontent: that I communicated the fact to him before I was recalled or any rupture had taken place between us. The proof there-

[1] Published in 1797, as "A View of the Conduct of the Executive"; [2] Washington; [3] Gouverneur Morris.

[4] Washington to Gouverneur Morris December 22, 1795. Monroe wrote of it, in cipher, to Washington March 24, 1796, and Washington replied August 25, 1796.

fore is clear first that his letter did produce that effect, second that I had no motive of a personal nature in making it known to him. There is a trait in his letter wh. in another view merits notice. It bears date some considerable time after my recall was decided on, and 7. days after Pickering's letter announcing it to me as is shown by my book. It is somewhat strange that he should write me a friendly letter at a moment when he made such an attack on my reputation. He ought either not have done so, supposing me what that attack implied, or knowing he had injured me acknowledged it. This shows that he is a man having a conscience capable of great accomodation to times and circumstances.

The second paper wh. I send is the original of my letter to Beckley of wh. that to Dr. Logan was a copy. A copy was likewise sent to several others.[1] It was published in Bache's paper and in many others at the time, perhaps in Davis unless indeed his tory[i]sm prevented it. If you have read my book you will perceive that it was not designed to hide the author from Messrs. Washington & Co: since it was, (if not in some passages a copy of my official communications) yet so strictly in sentiment, language, and method with them, that no one possessing the one cd. doubt who the author of the other was. My short note to Logan proposes to give a sketch of the progress of the French Revolution, to inform the community more correctly on that head, than they had been or cod. be thro. the channel of the English prints: requesting also that the thing might be so arranged that it might not be positively known that I was the author: tho' indeed abt. that I did not much care. What objection then cd. the Executive have to my giving occasionally such a sketch? Had they rather the publick mind shod be debauched by British prints than correctly informed by me? Or were they afraid that other truths shod. occasionally find their way thro' that channel to the publick which they wished to smother? Did they wish to hold the publick in the dark, that they might receive impressions from them alone? Or that my correspondence shod. be pillaged by themselves only and my name used to wound the cause to which I was devoted, (to promote wh. I accepted a trust under Mr. W:) as was done in the case of the publication of the history I gave of the Jacobin Societies, when the denunciation of our democratic societies was depending? Knowing the principles of the admn. I can readily conceive it wod. be alarmed much at the prospect of such communications. But what conclusion do these two facts lead us into. Mr. W. can trample the constitution under foot, in rejecting the channel of publick ministers, to intrigue with the British govt., thro Govr. Morris, a man without morality, an avowed royalist, with no traits abt. him but such as are

[1] His letter of June 23, 1795, printed in Hamilton's "Writings of James Monroe," ii. 292.

infamous, and takes alarm and proclaims a plot when a representative, like himself, of the U. S., is about to give truths to his countrymen, upon interesting topics, with which the govt. hath nothing to do more than they. As to the impudent and foolish clamour abt. separating the govt. from the people, it will be observed that at the time this letter was written the treaty was not known to me, was not ratified, nor certain that it wod. be. Besides Bache's paper was sent me by the department of State at that time. There were many reasons, why, I had continued the idea wh. then occurred, wh. I did not, being too troublesome, I shod. wish not to be avowed as the author, but these principally applied to the possibility of their coming back to France, which they might have done in that case, or had I been known as the author. Since being resident there they wod probably have attracted some attention, and in the course of events exposed me to some danger, as the Jacobin story did, when for a while that party was likely to preponderate.

If you think it worth while you may insert this letter in the gazette with such comments as you chuse to make on it; or get some other friend to do it. I put the other paper in your possession merely to inform you correctly how that matter stands. I conclude you are in confidence with W. Nicholas to whom you will likewise shew it. The existence of the paper had better not be known especially from our quarter, as it will put the party on its guard. If Mr. W. publishes his letter to Morris he will probably publish mine to him, and this his reply or expn. which it was intended to be. But as I did not disclose this fact in my book, from real delicacy, confining myself to publick incidents only tis possible he may not. The more however I think of the wickedness of that party, and the misconduct of this man, the more I am satisfied his true character ought to be made known to the publick. Having the document the fact may be treated with greater freedom. Let me hear from you by return of the post and believe me sincerely your friend and servt

JAS. MONROE

What the letter to Morris was I know not having not seen it. I presume this is the most favorable acct. of it; I understood however that at the same time that it charges many enormities on the Bh. Govt. wh. he never stated to Congress, but wod. have stated had they been rendred by France, he most earnestly urges a change of policy in that govt. from a regard for its own interest, if no other motive had weight. In speaking at the time to Revellière le Peaux, a member of the directory, in terms highly favorable of Gl. W. he replied to me explicitly, that they had it under his own hand in evidence that he preferred a connection with Engld. to one with France, by wh. I understood that that document satisfied the Frh. govt. of the fact. I communicated

this to Dr. Edwards (now in Phila) immediately afterwards: indeed as I returned from that gentn's quarters. This construction may be a forced one. Admitting it to be so, it does not justify the principle or practice.

To Edmund Pendleton.

Richmond, March 5th. 1800

Dear Sir, — A doubt exists under the Constitution of the State, whether the Chief Magistrate has a right to vote in cases where the Council are equally divided.

To me, as you will readily conceive, it is a matter of perfect indifference how the point is settled.

Happily under our Constitution the power is so distributed and restricted, that no individual can feel a personal interest in any trust reposed in him. His term of service is so short, and responsibility to his Constituents so immediate, that he can never forget he is the servant of the People. But in the place I hold, I ought to have an opinion, and act on it when called on so to do. Thus circumstanced it is my wish to consult the judgment of some few of our enlightened Citizens, that thus advised, I may be better enabled to form a correct opinion on the subject. With this view I address you, not as a Judge, but an individual, in the hope you will find yourself perfectly at liberty to comply with my request. It is unnecessary to refer to the clauses in the Constitution which have reference to the subject, since they are already well known to you. With great respect and esteem I am dear Sir, yr. obedient servant

Jas. Monroe

To John Taylor.

New York, March 6, 1803.

Dear Sir, — You have heard of my late appointment to Europe and the expectation and desire of the Executive that I shod. sail without delay. I had contemplated another disposition of my time and labours, for which I had some correspondent arrangments, that are relinquished in obedience to this unexpected summons. I am now on the point of sailing having taken the cabbin of a ship "the Richmond" of abt. 400. tons, with my family for Havre; our baggage is on board, and we expect to take our departure to morrow or the next fair wind. The time of my absence is uncertain, but the probability is, especially if I go to Spain, that I shall not be back in less than 12. months. I shall be happy to hear from you while I am abroad; I shall write you in return, tho' in the present state of things in the principal country, I shall only be able to write when safe opportunities offer, as a reverberation may do harm. I most sincerely hope to see you in the Con-

gress at the next session. You have it in yr. power by yr. long experience and perfect acquaintance with our affrs., aided as you are, by yr. standing in society, to render immense service to your country, and I trust the opportunity will be presented you of doing it. The independance of yr. circumstances enables you to dedicate yr. time to the publick while it increases the obligation on you so to do. To be candid if I cod. see you and Giles added to the talents we already have in the H. of R., cooperating with the Executive in the wise system of policy which is adopted, I shod. think we were completely secure. I cherish the hope that this will be the case. The enemy tho' defeated has not lost the hope of rallying agn. Every unfavorable incident in our affrs turns to their account: besides there is a fluctuation in the minds of many, especially those least informed, which time and a successful career alone can remedy. If the people do not distinctly perceive that they are more faithfully and ably served, and that their cause has gained by the change, what is gained cannot be considered as permanent. The best and ablest friends of free govt. shod. therefore still stand at their posts to give such support to the cause as it may require. I am aware of the importance of the trust reposed in me on this occasion, and altho' I cannot promise success in any degree yet I think I may that if I do not improve our situation I will not, deteriorate it. Be so kind as make my best respects to our venerable friend Judge Pendleton and to Dr Bankhead in P. Royal. I am very sincerely yr. friend and servt

JAS. MONROE

[Addressed] Col: John Taylor Caroline near Port Royal Virginia

TO WILLIAM B. GILES.

LONDON June 15, 1804.

DEAR SIR, — I recd. a short note from you by Dr. Holmes on his arrival here, and I avail myself of his return to inquire of yr. health, yr. pursuits, and whatever interests you. It will give me much pleasure to hear from you fully on those points, and to have also yr. sentiments on the situation of our affrs. wh. I trust and presume is a most favorable one.

I refer you to Dr. Holmes for political information. As he has been in France as well as in this country he can and doubt not tell you every thing. Happily our relations with Europe are daily diminishing. Much is done in that respect, but much still remains to be done. In my opinion we shod. consider Europe, as we do India, all its powers constituting in regard to us, but one. We shod. never degrade ourselves, by mingling our concerns with either agnst another. Our present admn. combines well fact with theory and will I trust continue to do so. However I say but little on politicks, since letters are exposed

to so many casualties, and harmless sentiments are so apt to be misconceived and misrepresented shod they fall into other hands than those for whom they are intended, that while I remain abroad I have thought it best to err on the side of caution.

In France the govt. is made heridatory with the power and title of Emperor in Boniparte and his family. Here a change in the ministry has taken place by the retreat of Mr. Addington[1] and appointment of Mr. Pitt to his place. Still the opposition is powerful, and it remains doubtful whether other changes may not take place.

It will give me much pleasure to have it in my power to serve you here, if in any respect you find it practicable. My family, Mrs. M. especially, have not enjoyed good health here; tho they are better at present than heretofore. We find the expense of subsistence excessive, greater than I supposed it could be here. I am dear sir sincerely your friend and servt

JAS. MONROE

Remember me to Major Egleston when you see [him] to Genl. Jones and Dr Short.

[Addressed] William B. Giles Amelia County Virginia By Dr. Holmes.

TO JOHN TAYLOR.

FREDBG., May 9, 1810

DEAR SIR, — I reach'd this yesterday on my return from Washington. I am happy to inform you that I settled my acct. to the satisfaction of the govt. and of myself. Every point which I made was decided in my favor, except one, and that was reserved for further consideration, not given agnst me. Without taking the latter into view, I owe a balance of abt. 150. dollrs. If that is settled in my favor at least 2000 will be due me. They allowed me my outfits to Paris and London, and expenses to Spain with contingencies. The point reserved is for extra expenses in Engld. after my return from Spain when I had permission of the govt. to return home. Having calculated on sailing, six weeks after I got back to London, I had made arrangements for it, but was detained by the siezures of our vessels and the discussions which followed, then by the spcl. mission and negotiation &c. These causes kept me there two years and 3 months, altho' there never was a time in the whole interval when I did not expect to set out in a short time. My house rent had I expected to stay so long wod have been £250 per anm, whereas by taking a furnished one it was 500 guineas. The expense was also raised, by being on the move, considerably in other respects. Mr. King was detained a month by some business after he had taken a vessel, and they allowed him the demurrage abt 750.

[1] Addington declared his intention to resign on April 30, 1804.

dolrs. It was thought that my case did not come up to that. It was admitted that equity was with me, not the law, but it was agreed that if I wod. state my claim in a letter to the Secretary of State, he wod. answer it in my favor on equitable ground, tho I might lay it before the Congress. What think you of it? I will at my leisure send you my remarks, &c on every point that you may be better enabled to decide on this question. Your observations were of infinite use to me. I followed your plan in every point, and in many instances adopted yr. language. Captn. Bankheads claim entire was allowed. There was no objection to it. He really owes that to you, for I shod not have asked the whole, tho' I saw at once the justice of it. Indeed it wod. have been very unjust to have deprived him of a cent of it. He will owe me a trifling balance not included in it for boots of which Mr McGruder has a note. Tell him to send me that by the post to Milton, and be so good as to inform his family of the above.

The President recd. me with great kindness, as did the heads of departments. Indeed I had proofs of kindness from every one, many of whom, I did not expect it. It shows that they think I have been pushed too hard, for any errors imputed to me. The cause of the late proposal, of a station near the Rocky mountain, was explained in a very satisfactory manner. A friend of mine from Kentucky, had induced Mr. Graham in the department of State to believe that I wished it, and he proposed it to the Presidt., who doubted, thinking that the offer of the appointmt. to me wod. be an insult, but not willing on such authority to disregard the intimation, got Mr Jefferson to sound me. Finding that I was hurt as well as astonished at the proposition, he took it to himself. I had this from Graham of whose friendship I have no doubt. Major Morrison who mentioned it to him, is an honest man, and I cannot account for his conduct otherwise than as he is very desirous of prevailing on me to move westward. I write you in great haste and am very sincerely your friend

Jas. Monroe

To John Taylor.

Dear Sir, — The letter which you will receive with this was begun at the time stated in it, but not concluded while your son Edmund was with me, in consequence it was put aside for a week or two for the want of a private conveyance. I brought it so far with me, with intention to have sent my servant with it, but meeting my brother Andrew here, have requested him to call by with it. I wod. have gone on to your house and staid a day or two with you, to confer on many matters of a private and publick nature, but am engaged to meet some persons to day at Fredbg. on the business of the late Judge's estate, and wish to hurry to Loudoun to be there some few days before that appointed for the

sale. A thousand plantation concerns prevented my leaving home sooner. I do not give it as a reason that I do not call on you now that a considerable anxiety is excited in certain quarters by our intercourse and communication, because it is not the true one, and because the manifestation of that anxiety in the underling tribe excites my contempt. My brother will return by your house on his way to Loudoun and bring me yr answer. How shall I settle my account with my late uncle's estate? Shall I institute a suit in chy. making all the devisees parties, or can it be done by an order of the court in the suit with Dawson, who has set up an acct. agnst the estate? The former appears to me to be the most correct course, as in the suit with Dawson only one party interested is before the court. Ought I to make the creditors parties also? All of them are not known. Several persons desirous of purchasing the land in Loudoun stand back in the hope of getting it for a trifle, as they conclude that it will be sold. It happens that the mortgage to Yates wh was given soon after our purchase, when we held 4400 acres was for 1500, and of lots dispersed over the whole tract. After this we sold 2200, and in consequence thereof the mortgage covers a part of that sold, and in it a considerable proportion of mine; the legal title being in the old gentleman, is the mortgagee to be benefited by the mortgage to my prejudice? The debt is abt £2400., and the old gentleman's proportion of the land (he having sold after I left the country without my consent or knowledge abt 300 acres) is less than 800. If these are sold by decree, or under pressure, they will not pay the debt, altho' worth considerably more. Wod. you buy them, assuming on my part the debt, with intention to put the whole estate in better order and sell out to greater advantage? These questions are not all of a legal nature, but you know that I consult on other topicks also. No one manages better than you, and I wish to get a little of your knowledge in that way also.

I hear that England has followed the example of France in revoking her orders of blockade. If this is true, the acts of these govts. prove that we succeed better by doing nothing, than by the measures lately resorted to. The truth was that the embargo supported a very dangerous conflict at home, hazarding the republican cause, union &c. while it afforded vast amusement to those powers. The danger still to be apprehended is that we may be drawn into a war with France, for I consider the repeal of her decrees only a new political maneuvre. I wish to hear from you on these subjects and am sincerely your friend,

Jas Monroe

25. Octr 1810.
Mill hill, Caroline.

As soon as I get home I shall write you respecting my remaining claim on the govt. I could not take a copy of my explanatory observations

on the several items of my acct.; in consequence of which I asked and Mr Smith promised to make and send me a copy. He has omitted to do so. I wrote him for it, just as I left home, and expect it on my return, when you shall hear from me on it.

To JOHN TAYLOR.

WASHINGTON April 7 1811.

DEAR SIR, — I intended to have written from Fredericksburg, but I arrived so late there on Thursday, and set out so early the next morning that it was impossible.

I recd. both your letters, and your advice concurring with that of some other friends whom I consulted, I have as you perceive followed it. I confess that I felt much repugnance to a resignation of the office which I left. Grateful to the state for its confidence and kindness, I embarked on this new scene with much anxiety as to the result.[1] I come however resolved to acquit myself to the utmost of my abilities, and with firmness where the occasion requires it.

Publick measures seem to be suspended, or rather publick expectation, waiting the return of the Essex, which will bring dispatches from our ministers in Europe. I am too lately arrived, to have gained much insight, into those affrs, with which I was not previously acquainted. I wish often to hear from you and that you will communicate your sentiments freely to me on publick measures. I am perfectly at liberty to pursue in all things the counsel which my judgment dictates, as being most likely to promote the publick welfare. You will be sensible that I would not have come here on any other principle. It will be satisfactory to you to know, because it is creditable to the govt., that a contrary idea was not even hinted. As I wish to communicate with you freely, it will of course be confidential.

I am very sincerely your friend,

JAS. MONROE.

To JOHN TAYLOR.

WASHINGTON, NOVR. 30, 1813.

DEAR SIR, — Having had no good intelligence to communicate to you of late, I have contented myself with sending to you reports, justificatory of the war, of its vigorous prosecution with a view to an early and honorable termination of it, of documents which demonstrate that there is no such thing as French influence, and the like. I believe I must follow up this plan till the prospect changes, unless you will generously come forward and give us your best aid to accomplish these objects, so necessary to the welfare of our country, and to the support

[1] He was now Secretary of State in Madison's Cabinet.

and permanence of our republican government. We cannot but lament your inactivity. I do most sincerely, on many considerations, private as well as public. I should have been happy to have made you a visit and staid some days with you, but ever since my arrival here, I have been so deeply engaged in the duties of the office, that I have had few leisure moments to visit my friends and attend to my private concerns. Be assured, when I came here, that I did every thing in my power to produce a change of policy in the British cabinet, to avoid war, as well in conference with Mr Foster, as in letters to persons in England, who would, as I knew, bring them into consideration, by those in power. To the latest moment, before the decln of war, Mr Foster assured me, that the orders in council would not be repealed, and nothing was recd from Engld which induc'd a different hope. I had written to the friends of Mr. Fox and had they come in, under the Regent, I have no doubt that an accomodation would have ensued. Not being brought into the Ministry, they had nothing to say to me. Impressment having long been a ground of complaint, and a principal cause of the war, the British claim would have been confirm'd, as it was thought, if the war was terminated without some adequate provision for it. I was satisfied, that, had we caught, at the modified repeal of the orders in council, made afterwards without an arrangement of other questions particularly that of impressment, the British govt. would have concluded that it had gained a victory, and maintained its whole system in full vigor, even the principles of the orders in council in the form of blockades, against the U states. Having gone to war, it seemed to be our duty, not to withdraw from it, till the rights of our country were plac'd on a more secure basis. Should the U states succeed in the war, as I have no doubt they will ultimately, two important results will grow out of it, distinct from the mere grounds of the controversy, the 1st is, it will put down for ever, this menace of disunion, which the Eastern people who profit most by the union, are incessantly ringing in our ears. The second, it will prove that free govt. is an efficient govt., for the necessary purposes of the nation. The demonstration of these two very important propositions, will be of incalculable advantage to us, at home and abroad. I admit, that we ought not to have sought the demonstration of them unnecessarily. My opinion was, that our affairs had got into that state, had we yielded to G Britain, without a struggle, our govt. would have received a wound from which it would most probably never have recovered. As it is, our national reputation has risen considerably abroad, and if we succeed, as I trust we shall, the best effects will result from it.

I began this letter with intention to consult you on an affair of a private nature, treated on in the enclosed paper, with which you are well acquainted. Indeed you will see in it, in the most important parts your

own work. I wish you to peruse it attentively and to tell me whether there is any part that you would omit in the report which must be made to Congress, in complyance with Mr Eppes's resolution. When I was nominated to the Senate Mr. Giles, charged me, with having been favored in the settlement of my account by the govt., and I then learned that he had made a similar charge against me, in Richmond, when my nomination to the Executive of the State was depending and even sent for documents, to the Treasury dept. to prove it, or stated that he had done so. On hearing of his attack on me in the senate, and that my nomination was referred to a committee to examine my account I requested the committee to examine every item in it, and to make their report on such strict and minute examination. They did so, and I was informed, that Mr Giles himself acknowledged that he was satisfied, drew the report to that effect, and voted for my nomination. Since that, some allusions have been made, as I have heard, even by him of a different character, and in the last session Mr. Pitkin of the H. of Reps., made a charge of improper allowance to me, on account of expences in France on my way to Spain, attending coronation &c. These attacks, ungenerous and malignant, and as relates to Mr Giles, altogether unprovoked and unexpected, and the more so, as I was informed, when I came here to settle my account, that he said I had been injurd in it by the admn., induc'd me to suggest to Mr Eppes, the idea of the resolution which he submitted to the house, to have the accounts of all our ministers, since the adoption of this constitution, brought before the public. It is desirable that the paper should go as it is, as it is presumable that the passage relating to expences attending coronation &c. seen by Mr Giles, is that, which they expect to make most of, and would complain of if modified. All that they have a right to see, is the account and vouchers. Explanations intended for the private inspection of the govt., may not always be fit for the public eye. Still I would rather let them go as they are, if you see no objection to it. The report of the Treasury dept. will communicate the accounts of all our ministers. I will send you a copy of the whole when made. Let me hear from you soon. Nothing new. Very sincerely your friend

JAS MONROE

To JOHN TAYLOR.

FREDERICKSBURG, May 20, '15.

DEAR SIR, — It would have given Mrs Monroe and I great pleasure to have called and staid a day with you and Mrs Taylor, but I am forced to return soon to Washington, and must take Richmond and Albemarle in the route.

I was attacked just before the peace with the epedemic, which with some predisposing causes had nearly taken me off. I have been several

weeks convalescent, but am far from being restored to that sound health which I had been blessed with in an unusual degree before. I hoped that this excursion wonld have been of great advantage to me, but yet the weather has been very unfavorable. It is now improving, and I proceed to day for Richmond.

The late events in France may disturb the world, but of this there is no certainty. We are happily again at peace, and I trust that we shall long enjoy it, tho' I think that the best way to secure it, is to be prepared to defend our rights.

I send you a copy of two reports which I made to the committee of the Senate on Military affrs., one on the questions agitated with the Eastern States opposed to the late measures, the other on the peace establishment. The latter was confidential and not printed. I will thank you to have the goodness to inclose that one to me at Richmond, where I shall send daily for letters, for I shall reside with Mr Hay in the country.

I repeatedly told Mr Woolforth that I would write you when I could announce the happy event of peace, which I should have done sooner had I not been sick, and overwhelmed with many duties.

I beg you to present our best regards to your Lady and sons, and to believe me very sincerely your friend

Jas Monroe

Taylor to Monroe.

Hazelwood, May 26 1815

Dr. Sir, — Yours of the 20th instant gives me an opportunity of heartily congratulating you on the peace. A succession of lucky accidents enabled the administration to get the nation out of the war, for which no one rejoices more than myself. Had it lasted two years longer, the republican party and our form of government itself, would have been blown up. The recent event in France proves, that the matter for an explosion may be ready without the knowledge of very cunning statesmen, or the suspicion of the world. The general joy on a barren, tho' an honourable peace, arose from the general though secret dislike of the war. Take care, that in praising a military ardour in the people, you do not create one in yourself; and renew a war, out of which the people had a thousand times more ardour to get, than to continue. I knew that they would hail a naked peace as an angel from heaven, and I think wrote you long ago, that it would make the administration popular, though the rest of the instrument beyond the word "peace" was filled up with any nonsense about sailors; and it is even popular without that aid. In fact, I think the administration have great credit for sacrificing many of their views to the national good,

and for discovering that many of their hopes, were only the prejudices of patriotism; and that this discovery by making it more wary, will render the nation safer in its hands than in any other.

As your letter has only reached me this day, it is instantly answered, lest its slow progress might cause you to want the inclosed report, before it might reach you. In my judgment it comprises all that could be said in such a case; but this all cannot conquer my opinions, or prejudices if you please, against a mercenary army; and I honour Macon and Eppes for their opposition to it. I think a republick cannot long exist, unless the body of the nation is warlike; and that it may be made so without war, by a wise use of money. The sum that would make 10000 mercenaries warlike in time of peace would make 200000 militia nearly as much so, and they would be a much better garda costa. Jackson's militia disclosed their prowess both against Indians and Englishmen. And if an English army in Canada is a good reason why we should have one, the same army in England would be better, as it can be more easily used by sea to surprise our most vulnerable points, than the Canada army can by land. With respect to your negotiation with the refractory governors, I almost entirely agree with you, as I did in your principle for recruitting the army, absurdly called "conscription." Had the war gone on, it was the only one by which the country could have been defended.

You will no doubt recover [from] your late indisposition, for your constitution is a good one, but I have been long troubled with a kind of hectick, which gives me daily much pain, and promises me ultimate ease. It would be a particular pleasure to see you and Mrs: Monroe here, that I might once more have an opportunity of evincing how much I am, Your friend

JOHN TAYLOR.

TO JOHN TAYLOR.

WASHINGTON, Decr 23. 1815

DEAR SIR, — Your cause in the supreme court shall be attended. I have written to Mr Shay on the subject but have not received an answer. He is well qualified to manage it, being an industrious, capable honest, young man. I shall see him in a day or two, after which you shall hear from me.

I send you Mr Dallas's report on our finances, and my report made last winter, on the differences between the Executives of some of the Eastern States, and the Executive of the U States, relative to their right, respectively to the command of the militia. They will give you amusement for some leisure hour, the subjects being in themselves very interesting.

I have lately been attacked by the prevailing epedemic, as have my

whole family. We have all recovered, and are in good health. My health is better now, than at any time, since last winter, tho' not in the state it was, before that period. Much fatigue by official duties, much anxiety of mind, had nearly broken me down, before I was seized with the epedemic then current, by which I was brought in a few days to the edge of the grave, and from which my recovery has been slow. And in truth so much had I suffer'd, by difficulties of every kind, and by the disease, and so much did I anticipate, on rising from the bed, that could I have left my family in tolerable independance and comfort, I should have been content to bid this world adieu. I heard last summer with much regret of your indisposition, which was confirmed to me by your son, whom I met at the Springs. I am glad to hear of your convalescent state, and hope for your complete recovery. I have long wished to spend a day or two with you, and still promise myself that satisfaction, tho' I cannot say at what time. I was sensibly affected by what you stated of Dr Bankhead's affectionate kindness to you in your indisposition. It shows how strong the bond is, between those, whose life, is bottomd in honesty. Shades of difference in opinion may take place, but they cling together, in extremity.

The kind interest you have expressed in my favor in relation to a particular object, was most gratifying to me, as it assured me of your confidence and sincere friendship. I will tell you frankly how I stand in that respect. Two years past Congress being in session, I obtained an interview, with Mr Pleasants, Mr Nelson and Mr Gholson, and stated to them, that I saw many reasons why the republican party should fix on some person to succeed Mr Madison, out of Virga; that as to myself I was no candidate; did not wish to be elected; and would support any republican, in whose favor the republican party would decide: and told them that I made the communication to them, not as friends, (tho' I believed they were) but as Virginians; that I wanted no answer, and authorised them to communicate what I had stated to the whole party. A year elapsed, and I had heard nothing on the subject, whence I inferrd that they had been silent from motives of delicacy. On going into the war department, I sent for Genl Lacock and Mr Roberts, senators of Pena., and stated to them, that I knew that the republican party, and the cause, were exposed to a great crisis and danger, the result of which was uncertain: that from what we knew of mankind, I might expect attacks on me, and the measures I might propose, with a view to injure me, in relation to another object, which might injure the republican cause: that I wished to divest the dept., and the govt., of an opposition founded on that motive: that I wished and authorised them to state to the republican party, that I was no candidate &c: that I thought the public interest required that they should fix on some person out of Virga &c: that I would support their deci-

sion, in favor of any republican candidate. What they did I know not. At the close of the session, after peace, Genl. Lacock came to the office and told me, that had the war gone on, and our difficulties increased, they should have followed my advice. As things were, they were at liberty, to do what they thought right. I replied that my own conduct should correspond with what I had stated as it has done.

I shall occasionally drop you a line, and shall always be very glad to hear from you, being very sincerely Your friend

JAS MONROE

To [GEORGE GRAHAM?].

WASHINGTON May 28. 1818

DEAR SIR, — I set out in the morning for Annapolis, to proceed thence down the bay. I expect to be absent about three weeks. Mr Adams will prepare your instructions. My idea is to give the parties notice that the territory belongs to us, and to admonish them, in a friendly way, for having enter'd on it, without notice to us, that it was not done in a hostile spirit. I would act however in a kind manner towards them, and menace no force especially, if friendly views towards the U. States were professed.[1]

I enclose you a letter for Mrs Stewart, left open for your perusal. She wished and expected that the post office would have been given to her husband, but that could not be done. She has since written to me a letter, to which this reply is necessary. Can not you prevail on her brother to take her situation under his care, and to afford her, for the advancement of her daughters, the most beautiful and promising girls in the city, some aid? I send you this open, that you may know her real situation, and in the hope, that by your interposition, something may be done, with her brother. You will after perusing, seal, and send this letter to her, not mentioning it to any one. Your friend

JAMES MONROE

To [ ].

HIGHLAND, July 31. 1820

DEAR SIR, — Since my last to you and to Mr Wirt, I have receiv'd a letter from Genl. Van Ness, and one from Mr Ringgold both assuring me that the first site, that is, on the judiciary square, is most approved of by the citizens for the city hall.[2] Mr Ringgold assures me that

[1] Probably refers to the sending a confidential agent to Galveston to warn Lallemand and his party that they were trespassing on territory of the United States. George Graham was to be this agent.

[2] In the city of Washington.

having no interest in the case, his sole motive is to put me on my guard, and in Genl. Van Ness's good disposition towards me I have great confidence, as well as fair dealing in what relates to me. I merely communicate this for your own and the information of Mr Wirt.

Mrs Monroe's health is still very delicate but I think, on the whole, it has improvd.

I shall return to Loudoun next month, and visit Washington shortly afterwards, preparatory to our return.

I have written to Mr Jeater about cloth and linnen for my people here, not wishing to trouble you with such small matters, make him shew you the samples.

I most earnestly hope that the Capitol is advancing very fast and with the greatest œconomy possible. I hear with much pleasure that you all enjoy good health. With very sincere regards yours

JAMES MONROE

To JOHN TAYLOR.

OAKHILL LOUDON May 12. 1823

DEAR SIR, — Your very interesting letter of April 29th did not reach me untill 1. o clock on yesterday at this place or it would have been sooner answered. I came here on the 9th and shall set out in half an hour for Albemarle, with intention to pass by Mr Madisons, and stay a part of a day, perhaps a whole one with him. Most heartily do I wish that you could be there with me. I shall remain a week or ten days in Albemarle, where it would afford, the greatest pleasure if you could come and join me. I would go with you to Mr Jefferson's and we would return by Mr Madisons.

On the ideas suggested in your letter, I have not time to enlarge. I have only one remark on one point touched in it, that is, that I must take no part in the ensuing election, as you will readily agree. Of your devotion to principle, and disinterested attachment to free republican govt., I have the most thorough conviction, as I have of the soundness of your views, as to the dangers to which it is exposed, and the necessary means of supporting it. The only difference between us is, that I having seen much of the intrigues and villany of foreign countries, look perhaps too much to dangers from that source, whereas you look, a little too much, I speak comparatively, to those from within. If you do not come up, you shall hear from me again. If you do, I shall leave you to arrange your own plan, with the two most estimable men with whom you ought to confer and act in concert on the great interest depending. We have been so long accustomed to act together, and in the most difficult situations, that if I were, to act at all, I would willingly move in concert with you.

Tell me whom shall I appoint to the bench of the supreme court, in the place of Judge Livingston? Whom to France, in the room of Mr Gallatin who intends to resign? Your sincere friend

JAMES MONROE

To John Taylor.

WASHINGTON Feby 9. 1824

Confidential

DEAR SIR, — I have had great difficulty in making the appointment to Mexico, proceeding from the number of very respectable characters who are brought into view, many of whom have claims on their country, and on me, if the support of the measures of the admn. gives such a claim, and likewise from the bearing which any appointment I may make, will have on the interests of the candidates for the office which I now hold, it being earnestly my desire from principle, as well as personal feeling to take no part in that question. I will give you hastily, a view of the actual state, and of the difficulties attending any movement in it. First, of the competitors — Mr [J. F.] Parrot of Maine, Judges [Nathan] Sanford and [W. P.] Van Ness of N. Yk, Mr Baldwin, and Mr [A. J.] Dallas of Penna. Genl. [William] Winder of Maryld, Genl. [M.] Stokes of No. Car ;, Govr. [T. B.] Robertson of Louisiana, Govr. [N.] Edwards of Illinois, Govr. [James] Brown and Genl. [W. H.] Harrison of Ohio, all these are respectable men. My attention was drawn in the first instance, to Penna. and to Ill: As early as the last Session, I was disposed to appoint Govr. Edwards to one of the southern missions, but declined it, from the imputation raised against him, that he had written the pieces, under the signature of A. B.,[1] which made a personal attack on one of the candidates. I knew that all leading men in our union, had taken part in favor of some one, of the Candidates, but I thought, that the imputed attack, would make his nomination a more marked measure, than that of the others. The state of the case in Penna is this; Mr [H.] Baldwin's talents and integrity are admitted, but he is at variance with the ruling party in the State, whereas Mr. Dallas, is supported by that party. For the former, 6 or 7 of the members have interested themselves, for the latter 15 or 16, and who not only support him, but protest against the appointment of the other. The objection to Mr. Dallas is, that he has never servd in Congress or elsewhere, in any distinguished station, and that his appointment, tho a young man of merit and talents, would be deemed an act of injustice not to Mr. Baldwin alone, but to others out of the State, who are more advanced in years, and renderd such service.

In looking to the object, if not taking any measure, that may be regarded, by active partisans, as bearing on the next election, it is to be

[1] See John Quincy Adams, Memoirs, vi. 296, 371.

observed that there are extremes on both sides of the question. If I pass by, all who are known, to have formed, their opinions on it, I must take negative characters only, and thus reduce the admn. to perfect inefficiency, while I remain in it. Among the other characters mentioned, there are it is true, men of high merit who are less marked, but who are nevertheless known to have formed their preferences. As to Govr. Edwards the question is, whether the imputation referrd to, 12 months since, and which seems to be in some measure forgotten, should, at this time, preclude him. If it does, I must then turn my attention, altogether to the other candidates, and to whom should the preference be given? The divided State of Penna., seemes to render it a measure of great delicacy to touch it.

I wish you to consider on this subject and to give me your opinion on it. Edwards has strong claims, and his appointment would be more satisfactory to Penna. and to others out of the State, than that of any young man, or indeed of some to whom that objection does not apply.

In my opinion the friends of Mr. Crawford, ought to come forward, and to put me at ease, on the subject, and on the other side, that Govr. Edwards should do the same. In deed all the candidates should. But you will have opportunities of forming an opinion which I do not possess, and I wish you to communicate to me the result.

I am indeed very glad to find that the state of health, has so far restored you to your family and friends, as well as to your country, to enable you to come here. Very sincerely your friend

James Monroe.

To John Taylor.

Washington May 20 1824

Dear Sir, — I have heard with deep concern, that the convention lately concluded with G. Britain is in danger of being rejected, because I should consider its rejection as fraught with the most serious mischief. Congress made the slave trade piratical, by law, and the H. of Reps. recommended it to the Executive, by a resolution, which passed almost unanimously, to promote by negotiation and treaty with other powers, the adoption of that principle, as a part of the law of nations. On that ground this convention has been formed, and according to our own project, with very little modification, and certainly with none, which touches any principle. If we recede from our own policy and measures, after compromitting ourselves with another power, in what light will Congress, the Executive, and the whole nation, be viewed, by the civilized world?

G. Britain wished to extend the right of search, which is a belligerent right, to this trade, and we resisted it, on the principle that as it

had been abused in war, it would be liable to abuse in peace, especially in the hands of the superior naval power. She wished also to establish a mixed court, to sit, in Africa, for the trial of those engaged or suspected of being engaged in the slave trade. To this we objected on constitutional principles. She charged us with insincerity, in professing a desire to suppress the slave trade. Congress then went beyond her, by making it piratical, and on that ground this convention has been formed. If we recede, will not the charge of insincerity be proved, and will not worse consequences follow?

That the right of search is necessary to give effect to a law making the slave trade piratical, is certain, for how catch a pirate without going on board his vessel? But in this instance, it is the *crime*, which authorises the search, and which, if it is adopted, as a part of the law of nations, would be common to all. A right of *search* in time of peace, by convention, for an offense, to be tried in Africa, might be abused; and if applied to the slave trade, it might be extended to other objects, with inferior powers, and thus, the dominion of the sea, be transferred, to the greatest naval power, in peace, as well as in war.

In England the Wilberforce party, are endeavouring to emancipate the slaves in the Colonies, and the ministry resisting that measure, strengthened themselves, by acceding to our convention, proving thereby, that they were as great enemies to the slave trade as Mr Wilberforce or any of his party, altho' they were not willing to ruin the colonies. Which of these parties shall we strengthen, that which wishes to throw the colonies into confusion, and ruin the people, or that which wishes to prevent it.

A concert with G. Britain at this time on this subject, might lead to it respecting So. Am. If we reject our own convention, into which we have drawn her, will it not have a very different effect. Such a concert, on so important a subject, would have a great effect, on the other powers, in preventing their interference with So. Am, lest she might unite with us also on that point. Excuse the liberty I take in suggesting these ideas. Very sincerely I am dear Sir your friend

JAMES MONROE

TO CHARLES F. MERCER.

OAKHILL Augt. 15th. 1827.

DEAR SIR, — I have understood that Mr Hawkins had been appointed the overseer of the road, leading from the pavment to Little river, in the route to Leesburg. You know the almost impassable state in which that road is, comprehending about 2 miles of a much frequented passage, to that town, and through the country. He has not been regularly notified of his appointment, to obtain which, if it has been made, I now send him there, with this to you, to request that you

will be so kind as to have, the extent of his duties, with the aid he may call for, designated. I shall be satisfied, with such aid, as the tenants, who live opposite to me can afford, with whose names he will apprise you. Should there be any difficulty in this respect, I shall be willing to take charge, or rather to apply my force, to this object, without any aid whatever, and will immediately have the road, put in good order, and keep it so. In either case, we ought to be exempted from working on any other road, which I mention, because at this time, my hands are called to such service, while this portion is neglected. I hope to see you here, whenever it may be convenient for you to call and stay some days with us. Very sincerely your friend.

JAMES MONROE

[Addressed] Charles F. Mercer Esquire Leesburg

Mr. FORD, in offering for publication the two following papers on church support in Virginia, said they were drawn from the same sources: the first, in the engrossing writing of Jefferson, is among his papers, with original signatures and subscriptions; the second, in the writing of Edmund Pendleton, is from the Washburn Collection of Autographs, "Statesmen and Orators," page 23:

SUBSCRIPTION FOR CHARLES CLAY.

Whereas by a late act of General assembly freedom of Religious opinion and worship is restored to all, and it is left to the members of each religious society to employ such teachers as they think fit for their own spiritual comfort and instruction, aud to maintain the same by their free and voluntary contributions: We the subscribers, professing the most Catholic affection for other religious sectaries who happen to differ from us in points of conscience, yet desirous of encouraging and supporting the Calvinistical Reformed church, and of deriving to ourselves through the ministry of its teachers, the benefits of Gospel knolege and religious improvement; and at the same time of supporting those, who, having been at considerable expence in qualifying themselves by regular education for explaining the holy scriptures, have dedicated their time and labour to the service of the said church; and moreover approving highly the political conduct of the rev^{d} Charles Clay, who, early rejecting the tyrant and tyranny of Britain proved his religion genuine by its harmony with the liberties of mankind, and, conforming his public prayers to the spirit and the injured rights of his country, ever addressed the God of battles for victory to our arms, while others impiously prayed that our enemies might vanquish and

overcome us: do hereby oblige ourselves our heirs executors and administrators to pay to the said Charles Clay of Albemarle his exrs. or admrs. the several sums affixed to our respective names on the 25th day of December next, and also to make the like annual paiment on the 25th day of December in every year following until we shall withdraw the same.

Or until the legislature shall make other provision for the support of the said Clergy. in Consideration whereof we expect that the said Charles Clay shall perform divine service and preach a sermon in the town of Charlottesville on every 4th Saturday till the end of the next session of general Assembly and after that on every 4th. Sunday or oftener if a regular rotation with the other churches which shall have put themselves under his cure will admit a more frequent attendance.

And we further mutually agree with each other that we will meet at Charlottesville on the 1st day of March in the present year and on [*blank*] in every year following so long as we continue our subscriptions and there make choice by ballot of three Wardens to collect our said subscriptions to take care of such books and vestments as shall be provided for the use of our church to call meetings of our Congregation when necessary and to transact such other business relating to our said Congregation as we shall hereafter confide to them. February 1777.

Th: Jefferson	six pounds.
Philip Mazzei	sixteen shillings & eight pence
Randolph Jefferson	two pounds ten shillings
Nicholas Lewis	three pounds ten shillings
Sam l Taliaferro	Forty shillings
Hastings Marks	Twenty shillings
Peter Marks	Twenty Five shillings
Richard Gaines	ten shillings
Lewis Cradock	ten shillings
Edwin Butler	ten shillings
Benjamin Calvert	10
Richard Moore	10
John Day	10
A. S. Bryan	twenty shillings
Thos. Garth	Fifteen Shillings
James Minor	Twenty Shillings
William Tandy	twenty shillings.
Jno. Joüet	£1 10.
Thomas Key	2. 0. 0.
Richd. Anderson	2. 0. 0.

Proposed Memorial.

To the Hon̄ble the Speaker and House of Delegates of Virga. The Subscribers Members of the protestant Episcopal Church, residing in the Parish of St. Asaph in the County of Caroline humbly represent,

That at the time of the late happy revolution the principles of their Society were and ever had been from the first settlement of the State, the legal established religion, and other Societies only tolerated in the exercise of their own modes of worship at their own expence, whilst they contributed to Support the Established Church from which they derived no benefit; which, tho' it placed them in a state discovered in this enlightened age to be degrading, oppressive and unjust, was as far as the most liberal Governments having established Religions, had proceeded in their favor; in most of them persecution was substituted for toleration.

That when a new Government was assumed for the State, the members of that Society cheerfully relinquished the establishment in their favor, and claimed no preference over their brethren of other societies; a perfect equality amongst them was supposed to be secured by the 16th Article of the Bill of rights; That the Constitution was silent on the Subject, proceeded, as we believe, from a prevailing Opinion, that civil Government, the subject of that instrument, had no right to intermeddle with religion.

That they have continued their endeavors to cultivate, Peace and harmony, and to live in the intercourse of Benevolence, and Charity with all others of whatever denomination; and for this purpose, altho' they judged, and still think a general Assessment for Religion, with the right of appropriation in each individual, paying, a measure beneficial to all: and a law for incorporating their Society, useful to them, and not affecting others, who if they had desired it, might no doubt have obtained the like incorporation; yet discovering that these measures gave Umbrage, they have abandoned both, and contented themselves with exercising the common right of all, in forming rules for their own Government, discipline and support. They continue to hold in deed the Churches, Glebes and other property vested in, and legally appropriated to the use of their Society at the time of the revolution, from a Conviction, that their title thereto is founded upon the same legal principles which secures to all Citizens their Individual rights, vested under the former Government.

That it is wth much concern they observe a Conduct in some other societies manifestg, in the Judgment of yr. Memorialists, a contrary temper and disposition; in their annual applications to the General As-

sembly to have the Churches and Glebes sold, and the money paid into the public Treasury ; which altho' hitherto rejected and the object is in point of Interest a perfect miñum to each individual is yet partinaciously persevered in, whereby animosities in the State are nurtured, great expences incurred in the discussion, exceeding perhaps the value of the Subject, and the reparation and improvement of the property probably prevented.

Your Memorialists, understanding that Petitions to the like effect, are to be presented to, and vigorously pushed at this Session, Beg leave once more to reiterate the ground on which they claim the property;

1661 ch. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10
1727 ch. 6

Premising that the contributions for the Original purchase of this property, were not made out of the Colonial or public Fund; but as the laws required, by distinct Parishes, who paid for and acquired Glebes and Churches of greater or lesser value according to their ability and inclination, for their own use, unconnected with other Parishes: And inferring from thence that if the property was to be sold, the produce ought not to be paid into the Treasury as a state Stock, but applied parochially, so as to give to each Parish the proceeds of its own property.

Whether the Glebes and Churches shall be sold and the money so parochially distributed to the present Inhabitants at large, or remain to the Episcopal Society, for whose use they were purchased and legally appropriated at the period of the revolution? seems to be the only question.

The foundation of the former claim is the contribution of the inhabitants or their ancestors in the acquisition of this property, which since they cannot conscienciously continue to use, they have a right to withdraw their share: That the laws which vested and appropriated them in an Established Society, were unjust and ought now to have no effect; And that the Laws passed since the Revolution for continuing the right in that Society, are merely void for want of Power in the Legislature to Act on the Subject.

In Answer to which your Memorialists observe that some of the Glebes were original donations of individuals long since in their Graves, whose representatives, if there be any, do not wish to disturb the donation, and other Parishrs. it is supposed have no pretence of right to do so: In other Instances, individuals in a Parish have voluntarily added to the General contribution and greatly increased the value of their Glebes and Churches, (the case of the Parish in which we reside) and we conceive it would be great injustice to deprive such persons of the benefit of their amelioration of a property they considered as appropriated by existing Laws. And where the acquisition was by a general parochial contribution, since the laws defined the use of both, it was an Appropriation to that use, which the individuals contributing

might continue to participate in, but declining that can have no other claim, since the vested right will not admit of any other: and considering, as we believe the fact is, that most of the Glebes and Churches below the Mountains were acquired many years past, when there was in that district scarce any of those then called Dissenters, except a few Quakers, so that the contributions were Generally from Members of the then established Church, the shew of Equity in favr. of the present societies petitioning, on the ground of Contribution, is greatly diminished.

As to the Spirit of the laws wch vested this property yr Memorialists do not concieve themselves concerned to vindicate their justice, but humbly insist that they were the laws of the land, passed by the then Legislative Powers and had continued in full force for upwards of a Century previous to the Revolution; And altho' in that great event the community, discovering from the Progress of Society and experience, Among other things, that an Established Church was inconsistent wth their happiness, made such new Arrangemts in that and other respects as they approved, yett all were to operate futurely, And in no instance retrospected and unravelled past legal transactions, or disturbed vested rights, because they had charged the Principle on which they were founded, A system which the peace and happiness of Society requires, and will be pursued in all wise reforms.

And as to the Power of the Legislature to pass the Several Acts on the subject; since the Revolution, yr Memorialists further state, That at the time, Government was assumed and the Constitution formed the Convention passed an Ordinance for continuing the Majestrates and others in Office, in wch is a clause declaring "the common law of England, certain Statutes, the several Acts of Assembly then in force, so far as the same might consist wth the several Ordinances, Declarations, and resolutions of the General Convention, should be the Rule of decision, and considered as in full force, until altered by the legislative Power."

The Legislative Power is unlimited as to its subjects, except so far as it is restrained by the Constitution or Bill of rights; Both are silent on the Subject of Religion, except the last clause of the latter, wch tho' in its literal terms seems only to extend to the free exercise of Religion according to conscience, and not to be directed by force or violence, has yet been understood and allowed to reach the placing all Societies of Christians upon a level in future, none contributing to the Support of another.

That this Declaration had not the effect of repealing the laws for the Estabt. but was directory to the Legislature to Act upon the Subject, was at least the prevailing Opinion at that time, and appears to have been so understood by the difft. societies called Dissenters, from whom

numerous Petitions or Memorials were presented to the Genl. Assembly in October 1776, praying an exemption from all future contributions for the support of the Established Church, or other Society than that of wch they should be members; none of those Petitions, as far as is discovered by the journals, make mention of the Church property, or claim any share therein; On the contrary your Memorialists are informed and believe that the Agents of the several Societies then attending to support their Petitions, relinquished all claim thereto; so that the clause in the Act which then passed for granting them the relief they prayed for "saving and reserving to that Church all its property," was considered as inserted by common consent, and with a view to avoid all future contest, declaring a subsisting right and not creating a new one. And yr. Memorialists have viewed that clause in none other light, than as a Legislative Construction giving additional weight to their confidence in the vesting and appropriating Laws for securing their property.

Journals Octr. 1776 Pa. 9, 19, 27, 32, 46, 85.

That the Terms used in the Act of "the Established Church," your Memorialists concieve were meant as discriptive of the Episcopal Society, till then established, and not inserted wth a view to give that Society any Superiority over others, as is evident not only from the general exemption of all others from supporting it, from that Society being left, like others, to voluntary contributions for such support, until the question of a General Assessment, by which all were to be placed on a footing, should be decided; and that having been since negatived, all Societies stand on the same ground in that respect. The words "to be established" seem to contemplate a Possibility that some one Society might at a future day be established, an Idea far from being countenanced, since in that event, others were to be exempted from contributing to its support, the apparent purpose of using the term.

Your Memorialists further Represent that besides the injustice of disturbing rights legally vested in times past, they concieve that the principle contended for would introduce confusion and embarrassment in future, tending to discourage all Societies from making stable provision for their Ministers and places of Public Worship, if every Member on quitting them had a claim to carry away his share of the Social Stock, difficult if not Impossible to be ascertained.

For all which reasons and others which will occur to the Legislature, Your Memorialists pray that the Applications for sale of the Glebes and Churches may be, as heretofore they have been, rejected.

Caroline Sepr. 25, 1797.

Revd. Sir, — Understanding that the Baptist and Methodist Societies, encouraged by something wch passed last Session, mean to push

their application, for sale of the Glebes and Churches, to the Assembly at the next. It may be necessary to meet them by Counter memorials, wch induced me to throw upon paper my thoughts on the subject as annexed; wch tho in the form of such Memorial, was rather intended as an historical state of the laws and facts on the Subject, from whence to form one, and therefore I have not attempted to shorten or correct it, but left it, imperfect as it is for your consideration.

My reason for taking the liberty to inclose it to you, besides a wish to have it correct, is it occurred to me that you might, after perfecting one, think proper to have a copy struck off and forwarded to each parish, to preserve uniformity of sentiments, which might otherwise Clash and do mischief; but this as you please, if not approved, I will thank you to forward me a corrected copy: Or if you judge it best to leave each Parish to its own mode, and reserve your self for a Conventional one, be please to return mine, and excuse the trouble I shall have given you, when I will endeavour to correct and have it subscribed.

As I have never been present at Public discussions of the Subject, nor heard it much Canvassed in private, from a recluse life, my Sentiments are drawn chiefly from contemplation, and may not meet their grounds, your information may supply and correct this. The distinction between its being a Public or parochial claim, seems to me well founded, and to be very important in the decision. With sentiments of much respect and esteem, I am Sir, Your mo. Obt. Servt.

EDMD. PENDLETON [1]

Remarks were made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT, JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, WILLIAM R. THAYER, ROBERT S. RANTOUL, HENRY W. HAYNES, T. W. HIGGINSON, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, CHARLES P. BOWDITCH, WILLIAM ENDICOTT, and EDWARD STANWOOD.

A new serial of the Proceedings for March and April was on the table.

[1] This paper bears an endorsement, in the writing of John Taylor, of Caroline, "Had Glebes been settled by old laws on the pagan priests, in the Roman Empire, and on the pagan sect, were the people and the governmt bound on becoming Christians to leave the Glebes in possession of these pagan priests?"

JUNE MEETING, 1909.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at twelve o'clock, M.; the PRESIDENT in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved; and in the absence of the Librarian the Corresponding Secretary read the usual list of donors to the Library.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the gift to the Society of a life-mask of the late Francis Parkman from J. Templeman Coolidge, Jr.

The PRESIDENT announced informally the death of the Rev. Dr. Hale, the second member of the Society in seniority.

William Coolidge Lane, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society; and Clarence B. Moore, of Philadelphia, a Corresponding Member.

Governor LONG read the following paper:

REMINISCENCES OF MY SEVENTY YEARS' EDUCATION.

I have written this paper, not so much to state that my personal educational experience is of any interest, but because it is typical of the time of it.

I was born and passed my childhood in Buckfield, a little village in the hills of Oxford County, Maine. I was the youngest of four children. My father, who on account of delicate health had early retired from active business as a village "storekeeper," was a man in what would now be regarded as very moderate circumstances. He was well read, and facile with his pen, keeping a voluminous journal, which I now have, running from 1820 to 1873. It is a most interesting picture of rural life in Maine. Having abundant leisure, he devoted himself very much to the education and training of his children. Among my earliest recollections are those of being set to write on the pages of his journal, and to copy, in a legible hand, letters which he dictated for me to write to absent cousins and friends. He had a small but a good library with which I soon made myself familiar. It was the largest in the town, yet occupied only two shelves, three less than

President Eliot prescribes as ample for all worth-while reading. Nothing could be more painstaking and assiduous than his efforts, which I recall with loving gratitude, to inspire in me the pursuit of knowledge and a love of learning and expression.

I was still wearing the jackets my mother made me, when he, after getting the advice of good Rev. Dr. Ichabod Nichols, of Portland, bought me a score of interesting and instructive books — the young folks' books of those days — containing narrative, history, travel, and story, all of which were a very storehouse of delight to me, and which I read a dozen times over. Indeed, I read and was encouraged to read whatever volumes I could find at home or among the neighbors. By the sitting-room fireside, at the table, or on my cricket, by daylight and by candlelight, I was absorbed in my book, never disturbed by the neighborhood conversation. My reading was discursive. In the beginning it did not include much trash, but took in a good deal of American and English history, for the picturesque and stirring incidents and heroic names of which I had great fondness, and in fiction of course the volumes of Scott and Cooper. My ideals were the heroes of their novels and of the American Revolution and frontier.

Without knowing much about politics, yet through the earnest local interest which such a country village community then took in national affairs, and through the influence that came from my father's conversation with neighbors and friends, I remember also a very distinct and enthusiastic patriotic sentiment, which I can now see was a part of my education and which impressed the country boy of that time. The Fourth of July was to me a day of genuine inspiration.

Our village was some fifty miles northeast from Portland, constituting the centre of a farming community, and enlivened by the gatherings which a half-dozen stores and shops brought together. It was a community of absolute and ideal equality; such a thing as any recognized distinction in rank or wealth or standing among the people whom I knew, or among my boyish companions, never entered anybody's mind, and I have often thought that this was not the least valuable element in the training of my boyhood. My father was one of the village plutocrats, "passing rich" on an income of $400 or $500 a year, but I had no consciousness of this bloated wealth.

The village school was kept three months in winter by a man, and as many more in summer by a woman. This I attended, and from it received a very marked impulse. There was no grading of schools. Each pupil had free course and was glorified if his wings bore him aloft; and when I was eleven, I had ciphered through the arithmetic, floundering a little, undoubtedly, in the mysteries of cube root. I had also raced through the geography and English grammar text-books of that time, and could "parse," and reel off rules of syntax. Very likely there was a lack of the best comprehension, and yet that lack, it seems to me now, was a good deal balanced by the spirit of enthusiasm and achievement with which I was animated. I remember, too, the stimulus I got from John Pierpont's set of Readers — the Young Reader, the Introduction, the National Reader, and the First Class Book. His grandson, the present financial magnate, has made no better contribution to good things. They were filled with admirable selections of poetry and prose from the best American and English authors. They were handed down from the older to the younger children and thus impressed their contents on a whole generation of readers. The crafty school-book men had not then worked the scheme of changing text-books every six months. I can repeat now some of the verses I then learned. They constituted excellent literature and were sources of culture in style and in matter. I reckon too, as something of great value, which among some young pupils nowadays seems to be a lost art, the drill we had then in the spelling-book, the zest of "getting to the head," and the fixity with which the ability to spell was driven into us. The spelling-match was our great literary circus; and it really embodied, if our new Harvard president, Mr. Lowell, only knew it, the very nub of his recent hope-inspiring paper on "Competition in College." There was no nonsense about simplified spelling made easy for dunces. No Harvard faddist undertook, as I once heard one undertake, to show how $100,000 could be saved in a century or two by such omissions as that of "ugh" in "through" and thus reducing the cost of typesetting. He might as well claim a similar saving by making all our coats with one row instead of two rows of buttons. For myself I value the retention of even my scant smattering of Greek, which faintly rekindles at the sight of the "ph's" in "photograph" and

"phonograph" much more than any penny I might save in a decade by substituting "f's" for them.

I do not now recall that any one of the coming and going village teachers was especially inspiring, and yet I look back upon that village school with a feeling of indebtedness and gratitude. I have no doubt that I was largely encouraged and urged on by the interest and influence of my parents, as well as aided also by a natural taste for study and the ambition for its pursuit. Certainly nobody enjoyed out-of-door amusements and sports more than I. Looking back, I see myself, the then ordinary type of a New England boy in the New England common school, under the influence of a pure and unmixed New England community, enjoying its out-of-door life and incidents, and getting out of the wooden benches and homely surroundings of the village school an education which was not merely that of the text-book, but also that of the earnest sentiment of the time and place.

After that I went seven miles away to the academy at Hebron, Maine. I recall now the awe with which its little brick shell and belfry inspired me, and yet it was a very modest affair. My teachers there were graduates of Waterville College. Here, too, the classification was loose, and I galloped through my Greek and Latin at rather a break-neck pace. I went over a deal of ground, and turned the dead languages into not the best of English, acquiring next to nothing in the niceties of construction, syntax, and composition. Meantime I declaimed or "spoke" pieces, — sometimes verses written by my father, sometimes the impassioned invective of some classic orator, but in either case with the tremulous voice and emphasis-less drone of a scared infant, and with all the shakiness of the knees and mental agitation which made that exercise such a crucial trial to a homesick boy. Which accounts for my shrinking so habitually from public speaking in my later years.

The result of my few terms at the academy was that I entered Harvard College in 1853, at fourteen years of age. I squeezed in only by the skin of my teeth, with seven conditions, and without that thoroughness in the details of preparation which I should have had.

I look back upon my college education with less satisfaction than any other part of my life. I was not thoroughly fitted. I was too young. The mistake was made, with a well-meant but

mistaken view of saving me from the "dangers of college life," of boarding me for the first two or three years a mile away from the college, — as if there were any dangers or, if there were, as if the best part of a college education was not to get the rub of them. Hence it happened that I then formed no personal association with my classmates, and always felt remote and as if I presented the picture of a forlorn little fellow who ought to have been at home. To this day I have never got over an awe of them that I have never had of anybody else.

At that time, too, the college had not approached the larger university spirit which since that time has characterized it — at least more than then. In too many colleges the presidency was a shelf for the repose of some clergyman who had done his work and was thus provided for. I recollect no instruction which was not of the most perfunctory and indifferent sort, unless possibly it was that of Professor Cooke in chemistry and Professor Child in English. The only impression made on me by one professor was that of a pair of staring spectacles and an immovable upper lip, and by another of a throaty growl in his Sophoclean larynx. There was an entire lack, to me, of all moral or personal influences. I look back with a certain pathetic commiseration on myself, unwarmed for the whole four years by a single act or word expressive of interest on the part of those to whom my education was intrusted. And this is literally true. The element of personal influence was entirely lacking. No instructor or officer ever gave me a pat on the shoulder physically, morally, or intellectually. No word of advice or stimulus or encouragement was ever uttered. There was no help in the formation of character. I was quick at tasks, and, without much labor, made ready enough recitations. I secured good marks and graduated near the top. But it meant very little solid acquirement either of knowledge or of character. It was four years of monotonous routine, going into the class-room, spending an hour and coming out. I continued my habit of desultory reading, having no hint or direction from anybody in that regard. In the junior and senior years I derived some benefit in the way of English composition, but as I now look back I find my education in that respect, which up to that time had been little more than what my father and my reading had taught me, very slight. During the four years I had perhaps

three or four exercises in declamation, but the instruction was nerveless and meagre and not much better than would have been the model of a pump handle. If I have ever had any facility in public speaking, it is entirely the result of my own natural qualifications and my practice as a public man, and I owe it to no college training, for I never had any.

There is, however, this to be said, that the elective and lecture system had not then been run into the ground and made a soft snap for shirks and a risk of superficiality even for honest students. These systems have come, and properly come, to stay, but happily we have just now good word for it that there is likelihood that the manifest perils attending them may be guarded against and their faults corrected.

Reviewing my education, I think I went to college in the plastic and sympathetic condition of very early youth, quick at tasks, ambitious for excellence, and in the best condition for good educational moulding. I regard it as my misfortune that for the next four years I suffered the lack of the inspiration either of personal companionship among my classmates, or of a lift from those who taught us. There came into my educational career, therefore, at that time two formidable elements of weakness: one, a lack of thoroughness of learning, and the other, a lack of inspiring formative influences on character. As I have said, I had a liking for books and had the knack of doing set tasks, and, like all fledglings, wrote verses and stories and articles for the newspapers. I was facile enough, both in mathematics and the languages, but I recall no branch of study of which I was master. When later I began to study law, I found myself pursuing it in the same way and with the same incompleteness of mastery.

As to the other matter, the formation of character, my maturer experience has shown me that nothing is so important to a young man as the influence, inspiration, elevation of a riper or superior mind, sensibly or insensibly holding him to higher standards, not in the goody-goody sense, but in the appreciation of his own powers, capacities, and obligations. I meet young men to-day from Harvard, touched and toned by the personal influence of men whose names readily occur to you, and I feel that it would have been of priceless value to me if only in those days some such man could have taken me by the hand, or even by the ear, if only half a dozen times in the

whole four years. I do not mean to say that I was not in every way a good boy; on the contrary, a more innocent, harmless, dreaming little fellow never wended his way to and fro; but the one thing needed was not given me, and that was that element of education which takes just such a nature and infuses it, kneads it, stimulates it, vitalizes it, gives it value and life and the mastery of its own capacities and powers. My fancy was quick; my imagination was alert; my intellectual tendencies only needed guiding. I could have quickly appreciated direction towards the best things in literature and poetry, towards the best standards of moral effectiveness, conduct, and aim, and towards the refining influences of good society. But, aside from my father's constant and loving correspondence from home, no direction was given me, not, perhaps, because of anybody's fault, except the fault of the whole perfunctory system, but because of my misfortune in not falling in the way of somebody's interest or notice. Therefore, at college and away from home, I drifted like a balloon in the air, held by the single string of my class-room recitations, but otherwise blown about by the winds that blew where they listed, and that were for the most part the harmless but idle zephyrs of a boy's fancies.

If I dwell on these two elements of thoroughness in intellectual culture and moral impress on character, it is not because my experience is of especial interest to anybody, but because, if I were to say anything of the cause of education in behalf of other young men, it would be to urge these two matters in their behalf.

I have felt that my education was lacking too — and I believe there is this lack in education nowadays — in instruction in the art of expression. Pupils accumulate masses of information; their range of study is very large; their range of reading is broad; acquirement is the rule; but clear, interesting, accurate, forcible expression is the exception. They are not taught to talk, which is the acme of culture. For years I was piling in, but next to never putting out. If, at academy or in college, I had been made to put back and reproduce in my own best form of individual expression whatever chunk of learning I was assiduously storing in the vacant attic of my mind, it not only would have been magnificent training, especially in the line of life I have led, but it would

have of itself constituted that very element of thoroughness to which I have referred.

As to the value of the study of Latin and Greek, I am not sufficiently a proficient in either to bear testimony of much value. In fitting for college I hardly learned more than to translate, and knew next to nothing of composition in those languages. In college the instruction seems to me now to have been perfunctory and unsuggestive, but that may be owing to the fact that I had not received the proper fit and was out of gear, because entering college a year or two ahead of what my equipment warranted. I really began to accomplish most, too, in these lines when I began to teach them. In Greek my attainments on graduating were at best of very small account and hardly worthy of a freshman. And yet, meagre as my classical education was, I am certain that it has been of great value, and that classical education should not be dispensed with or much restricted as an element in the all-round and substantial education, not merely of the scholar, but of the cultivated citizen. It lays the foundations of literary culture; and this is of vital consequence. It puts the student in touch and harmony with springs and sources of literature. Without it he somehow always feels the lack of it. It enlarges his background; it is a rock under his feet; it saves from a consciousness of something behind unexplored and unexaggerated for better or worse. It is also one of the most refreshing and wholesome well-springs of delight and of the eternal life of the human mind. Its literature is monumental and imperishable; and as all literature is inseparable from the personal elements of its creators, whatever brings us into closer speech with them brings us closer to the spirit of their works. And, especially, a classical education is inestimably valuable as a help towards expression, towards writing and speaking, which are the very desiderata of education. Our own language is largely the Latin and Greek languages. It is a misnomer to call them dead. They live in the words we read and use every day we live. Who so knows them and their construction has, in the reading and writing of English, a mastery and command which he can acquire in no other way. To him every word inherited from them carries a whole illumination of relations, and, but for his training, would be but the burnt stick of an exploded rocket. It is the

difference between listening to music with the ears of one who simply enjoys a melodious current in the air, and with ears to which, in addition to all that, each note is the recognized element of a musical meaning. The vocabulary is enlarged. The choice of words is surer and easier. In short, the mastery of language is greater. There have been splendid examples of such mastery without a classical education, but with it would they not have been still more masterful?

After leaving college I taught two years in an academy at Westford, Massachusetts. This was an admirable education for me, for I was now compelled to convey instead of receiving. I read and wrote, and had delightful and valuable associations in social life. I then spent three years in studying law. One year I went to the Harvard Law School, where the same habit of incomplete study to which I have referred prevented my acquiring much. For the second year I ground unprofitably at the usual text-books in the office of Sidney Bartlett, at that time the head of the Boston bar. There I simply read law, but saw no practical application of it, owing to the fact that it was an office occupied with matters altogether beyond anything but the rarest participation of a student. Indeed I recall only one occasion when that great lawyer asked me a question, which of course I answered wrong.

After that I spent a year or two nominally practising in a desultory way at my old home in Maine, where my shingle still hangs out and invites a fee. I have never forgotten my first one. Two of what Daniel Webster loved to call the "neighbors" met in my office to settle a dispute about the "boot" on a "hoss-trade," involving less than ten dollars. They sat one on each side of my box stove, which from their tilted chairs they propped with their cowhide boots and artistically frescoed with tobacco juice. It was an old and never-settled feud. They prosecuted it, not with firearms as in more chivalrous sections of our country, but, in our rural fashion, with rapid volleys at close range of personal vituperation and vernacular profanity, which, however, never left the slightest scar or apparently gave the least offence. In that winter time they had nothing to do but loaf; indeed my memory of that village time is that hardly anybody had anything to do but loaf at the "stores," talk politics and philosophize like Diogenes at his peanut stand. I well remember the snow falling in great

soft flakes and the sense which both men seemed to enjoy of an easy warmth within doors. After two hours of wrangle they rose at noon, — the dinner hour, — and one of them with patronizing magnanimity said to me, who had been only a listener, "Johnny, you ought to have something for your trouble," and gave me a silver quarter, — my first fee. I had the comfort, however, of thinking that Simon Greenleaf or Pitt Fessenden probably had at their professional beginnings similar experiences.

Soon after this I came to Boston and had the usual course of a young lawyer working his way. I had begun to make some slight advance in the profession when I was switched off upon the track of political life, on the ragged edge of which I have been hanging ever since. Up to the beginning of my political career, as I now review the past, it seems to me that my great educational lack consisted in the fact that, perhaps for the reasons I have given, nothing had taken a very decided hold on my interest or ambition. The old habit of doing easily the thing at hand had sufficed. With practical public responsibility my better education began. I look back upon my public life with satisfaction and, I am glad to say, without regret. As I recall it, I am convinced that while nothing is more usual than to rail at men in public place, there is no class of men who fulfil their responsibilities better, which, perhaps, is not saying much, probably for the simple reason that there is no class of men who are kept under such a constant and severe headlight of criticism.

It was an invaluable experience to me, and gave me more breadth, more self-reliance, more self-respect, better standards, a deeper sense of personal and public responsibility.

Returning to the law for an interval before I became Secretary of the Navy, I found myself better equipped for its practice. Indeed, the question how I *was* educated seems to me incongruous with the consciousness I feel that my education is a thing not at all of the past, but of the present. It were better to ask, "What is my education now?" For time may come and time may go, but education goes on forever. Why cry for the immortality of youth, when we already and always have it? It seems to me, saying all this, as if I was not more a scholar sixty years ago in the village school than I am a scholar now, and as if I was not half so much in the way of

education when a college student as I am to-day at an age, it seems, as young as then, and at work in the busy and frictional arena of active life.

The reading of Governor Long's paper was followed by a discussion, in which the PRESIDENT, WINSLOW WARREN, HENRY W. HAYNES, SAMUEL S. SHAW, and WILLIAM R. THAYER took part.

The Rt. Hon. JAMES BRYCE, an Honorary Member, also participated in the discussion, and spoke of education at Oxford and Glasgow Universities and at the University of Heidelberg.

Mr. HORACE DAVIS, a Corresponding Member of the Society, presented a copy of "The Boston Weekly News-Letter," of August 1, 1751. This copy is believed to be unique, no other being found in the very thorough searches of Miss Ayer and our colleague Mr. Matthews.[1] Mr. Davis writes: "You will feel some curiosity to know how it came to be in my possession in this far-away place [San Francisco]. It contained a notice of the death of Dr. [Benjamin] Gott of Marlboro, the grandfather of my grandmother Davis, and was undoubtedly preserved in our family for that reason. I received it among the papers of my father, John Davis, formerly governor of Massachusetts."[2]

Mr. FORD said:

Through the courtesy of our colleague, Mr. Greenough, I present for publication four historical papers drawn from his collection. They were written in 1659 by five Quakers, and relate to the proceedings of the government of Massachusetts against certain members of that sect in that year. One is assuredly of local origin, the message signed by William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, and probably prepared while they were imprisoned in Boston, just prior to their execution.[3] The others were either written and sent from England or were copies of such documents made in the Colony. Francis How-

[1] Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, ix. 62.
[2] Horace Davis to Charles Francis Adams, May 21, 1909.
[3] See *ante*, 203.

gill and Edward Burrough were prominent among the English Quakers, and both printed tracts against the treatment given to their co-religionists by the Massachusetts Bay.[1] It is that which gives these manuscript messages a peculiar interest. The message from William Dewsbury, who also was well known in England, was probably handed into the Court of Assistants with the other papers, and the indorsement by Rawson on the Howgill letter was applied to all.[2] A fifth paper, of a later date, is added from the Winthrop Papers.

From William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson.

To all you maiestrates: and Priests: in y^e^ towne of boston and else where in y^e^ nation of new England: who haue had a hand and is gillty: of persecuteing y^e^ Inosent. and seruants of y^e^ liueing god who in obedience to his Command: did come among you: to declare his mind and will Conserning you for you be a stifnecked people goten up high in your owne wisdome, as y^e^ scribes and pharisees were, who put Christ to death: under y^e^ name of a blasfeamer and a desceiuor of y^e^ people, because he declared his fathers will and counsell to them, but they would not heare him nor herken: to his worde, but reiected his pure counsell, and set at nought his reproufe, because he came in a low manner, and in y^e^ way w^ch^ they despised, who had a Seall of god, but not according to knowledge though they professed him in words, yet in y^e^ life and in y^e^ power, they were straingers to him, for their hearts were adullterated from him, as yours is at this day, to y^t^ of god in all your consciences, I speake, which is my witnes w^ch^ will say you naked and bare, w^th^ whom wee haue to doe, for he is a god y^t^ will not winke at wickednes, nor let y^e^ transgressor goe unpunished, to whom you must all giue an accounte, and resceiue according to your deeds therfore

[1] Howgill published in 1659 two tracts on this subject: "The Popish Inquisition newly erected in New-England," etc., and "The Heart of New-England Hardned through Wickedness," etc. The title of Burrough's tract, printed in 1660, was "A Declaration of the Sad and Great Persecutions and Martyrdom of the People of God, called Quakers, in New-England." The Howgill writings are in the Public Library, Boston, and the pamphlet by Burrough is in the Library of Congress, Washington. The John Carter Brown Library possesses two of the issues.

[2] It is difficult to decide whether these papers are autographic or not. In the four the writing is quite distinctive, and only the address on the Burrough document connects it with that signed by Howgill. In the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, viii. 72, is reproduced a letter to Massachusetts by Christopher Holder, the writing of which is almost exactly similar to that of the Howgill letter. The differences are so accidental as to be almost negligible, yet I am not prepared to say that the two papers were from the same pen.

consider of it and lay it to heart, for y^e^ lord hath a controversy with you, because you haue don y^t^ which is evill in his sight, in whiping and Imprisoning his seruants: and Chilldren, whom y^e^ haue despised and set at nought, yee who make mension of his name, but not in truth and righteousnes, oh yee hipocrites and dissemblers, who profes god in words: but y^e^ life and power of truth you deny, and will not owne his apeareance, but trampled upon his pure witnes in your consciences, w^ch^ will testifie to your faces, y^t^ you doe not y^t^ which pleaseth y^e^ lord, but you haue greiued his good spirit, and hath vexeed his righteous soule, and prouoaked him to anger against you, y^t^ he is euen with bearing your sines; and Iniquityes, for they are great, and is likely to exceede your forefathers w^ch^ is gon before you, w^ch^ Christ Cried wooe ag^t^, for in their steeps you are walkeing and beares forth their Image, to all those y^t^ seese you who are in y^e^ light, they may read you with y^e^ mesure of god, w^ch^ makes all things manifest, and with it you are seene, and made manifest, whose children you are, and whose kingdome you uphold. oh consider of it, ye chilldren: of anty Christ, who are feighting ag^t^ x^t^ and is seekeing as much as in you lies, to put him to death, in his apeareance, oh yee ungodly and unwise, doe you thinke to prosper who feight ag^t^ god I tell you nay. for y^e^ lord god is arisen in his mighty power, for y^e^ redeeamsion of his seed: which you seeke to keep in bondage but this all know from y^e^ least to y^e^ greatest of you, who haue giuen consent: and is ioyned together as one, in makeing a law, Contrary to y^t^ of god in your consciences, to banish upon paine of death, all those whom y^e^ lord hath sent: and doth send among you to declare his will to you, and w^t^ he will bring upon you if you goe on in your Iniquityes: and exeecute your law w^ch^ you haue made: in your owne wills, for to put y^e^ Inosent to death, for thus saith y^e^ lord. to whom you must all bend and bow, it shall surely come to pass: if you exeecute your law upon my seruants, in puting them to death, I y^e^ lord will exeecute my Judgments speedely upon you, and will ad to your torment seuen fould, for a fire I will kindle in y^e^ midst of you, euen in you[r] bosumes, w^ch^ shall consume you and eat you up as doth a canker, and in my wrath and in my fuery will I destroy you, with a sore destruction, saith y^e^ lord god allmighty, if you doe not speedely repent. for none among you shall escape: my righteous Judgments. who are found feighting against me, in this day of my power: when I am arisen in my might to ouerturne my Enimyes, y^t^ rise up in oposicion against me and will not haue me to reigne ouer you; as lord and king, but sets me at nought: and reiects my pure witnes in you because it testifies against you: y^t^ your deeds are evill. therefore seace from your oppresion, and repent at your blood sheed, it Cryes to y^e^ god of heauen for a vengance against you for you be a deseatfull people, and your Iniquityes doth abound: and y^e^ sound of it is goeing ouer y^e^ nations:

that are aboote you: oh consider and lay it to heart: y^e^ preists and maiestrats in y^e^ towne of boston, and else where in y^e^ nation, who is exalted in your owne wisdome, and seekes honor one of another.

and is called to your places: by one another, and soe resceiues your commishons from man, and not from y^e^ lord, how do you thinke y^e^ lord can owne you: when you are not chosen by him: but by one another, and soe holds upon one another in your abominations, and ioynes hand in hand: to persecute y^e^ Inosent: oh blush for shame all yee: who had sume tendernes in you time past: w^ch^ made sume of you leiue your owne natiue country for consciences sake. but you fleed y^e^ crosse, when you should haue stood in it: and soe lost y^e^ sense of y^e^ law of god: that his feare departed from you: then did your hearts grow hard: when you[r] minds weare adullterated: from him, and soe hath remained in the darke yet haue you professed him in words, as y^e^ scribes and pharisees did: and haue drawne neare him with your lips and w^th^ your mouthes: as they did: y^t^ y^e^ true profit Isaiah speake to: but your harts is remoued far from him as theirs was, for thus saith y^e^ lord of hosts: y^e^ god of his people Israell: when you make long prayers in your owne wills: I will not heare you: for you seeke to sheed y^e^ blood of my seruants: w^ch^ I haue sent unto you: and to trap them in your snares: therefore will I not haue regard unto your fasts w^ch^ you make, nor your meetings together: for it is abomination unto me, saith y^e^ lord. my sense loathes it and abhors it, for it is an ill sauor in my nostrells: and I will spread it as donnge upon your faces, if you will not let y^e^ opressed goe free: and let me reigne in my own i will consume you in my anger, and you shall become an abhoring to all y^t^ know you, for my eternall decree: is gon ouer you all: and y^t^ w^ch^ I haue spoaken shall be accomplished, if you doe not speedely repent: in y^e^ wine presse of my wrath shall you be troden if you hate to be reformed: and refuse to returne: and herken to my call: who would not haue you to perish: and dye in your sines: and whether you will heare or forbeare, this is my word saith y^e^ lord: to you heare declared, w^ch^ shall be as arrowes in your sides: to wound you to y^e^ heart: if you goe on in your stifneckednes, and will fully resist me in my way: w^ch^ I haue made knowne to my people to walke in, who are of an upright heart: and stands in my pure counsell: and abides in my feare, all such you hate: and hailles out of your assemblese, they who come among you: to declare ag^t^ your abominations: w^ch^ you haue long liued in: for y^e^ wise in heart seese you, though you be goten high in your owne wisdomes and ary Imaginations: out of y^e^ Crosse: and from y^e^ life and out of y^e^ Couenant which is to y^e^ seed whom y^e^ lord hath blessed, for all y^t^ ioynes with y^e^ seed, they ioyne w^th^ x^t^, and all y^t^ ioynes w^th^ him: are taught of him, and such comes into his Image: to be meeke and lowly

as he was: to beare all things wth patience: that can be inflicted upon them: and all who takes up his crosse: must folow him through suferings, and be reuiled with y^{e} world wherever they goe: and be called foules and desceiuers, wanderers and vacabonds by y^{e} adulterous generation: whose harts are remoued fare from y^{e} lord. oh consider this yee priests and rulers of new england: and let y^{e} faithfull and true witnes of god in you all: arise and answere: and if it will let you see: y^{t} you are y^{e} wanderers and deseauers: whose hearts are adulterated from y^{e} lord: for time was: y^{t} sume of you was tender, and tasted sumthing of y^{e} loue of god. but now you haue lost it againe: and y^{e} sense of your condishon w^{ch} you were then in: is now vanished away: and soe you are become straingers to what you once did know, in leting your minds goe out after other louers, you haue lost your first loue: and so is adulterated from y^{e} lord, and seperated from y^{e} god of your life, and hath not a habitation in him and soe is seene to be in caines nature, labouring to put y^{e} Inosent to death, as y^{e} scribes and farisees did: who were enimies to y^{e} truth: as you are at this day: for you are persecuting y^{e} same spirit y^{t} they persecuted: soe remember whose Chilldren they were: who called christ a desceiuer: and y^{e} apoastle a mad man, you are there breathren for their Image you beare, and into their nature you are growne: and is laboring to bring forth y^{e} same fruit, which they brought forth in persecuteing y^{e} Inosent as they did, but remember wat was there porsion for what they had don: and soe it will be yours, if you continue in your Iniquity: and fullfill your law w^{ch} you haue made in puting y^{e} Inosent to death: you shall surely perish and dye in your sines: and this from y^{e} lord god doe i declare unto you, y^{t} sorow and torment shall Come speedely upon you, as upon a woman in trauill: and you shall in noe wise escape it nor fly from it, soe remember what y^{e} lord hath spoken: aforehand to you before y^{e} thing to be exeecuted y^{t} soe if you perish: it is through your owne willfullnes, soe slite not y^{e} Counsell of y^{e} lord: nor make a mocke of his reproufe, in herdening your hearts, and stoping your eares from heareing of his word, least he come sudenly upon you at unawares, and sweep you away with y^{e} besum of his wrath into y^{e} pitt of perdishon: and verily it will be soe with you; if you herden your hearts still against y^{e} lord: and willfully resist him in his way, w^{ch} he is makeing knowne: to his sones and daughters for to walke in: to beare forth their testimony of him, in this day of his mighty power, wherein he will breake downe all his enimies y^{t} are goten into high swelling words: and into great and large professions, out of y^{e} possession of what they doe profes: and such are y^{e} hipocrites and dissemblers: and enimies to god: who persecutes y^{e} life and substance of that in others, w^{ch} they themselleues are gon from, and truely this your state: theirfore put it not from you, for many is come in this day of y^{e} lords loue: to tast much of y^{e} good things of

god, and doth enioy y^e^ substance: and life of god w^ch^ yee who are high in profession haue not: theirfore doe yee storme and rage against them: because they are in that w^ch^ you are gon from: for you haue slaine y^e^ witnes in your sellues, and you seeke to slay it in others, for you labour to shut up y^e^ kingdome of heauen against men: and will not enter in your sellues: nor sufer others, and all you who are found in this Condishon: your state is sad and miserable, w^ch^ causeth my heart to be broken and my eyes to rune downe w^th^ teares, to see how your herts is hardened, and your eyes is blinded: y^t^ you doe nor will not see what you are striueing and feighteing against. oh consider you are striueing against him w^ch^ is to hard for you, who will try you in your law w^ch^ you haue: in your owne wills. for sume among you are ready to balke [?], because you haue made sume to fly out of your Jurisdicktion, where they had outward subsistance to liue upon, because they Could not bow downe to you: nor submit to your wills: theirfore haue you banished them away, upon paine of death. oh Consider and see if that spirit, doe not rule in you at present w^ch^ ruled in them of old England: w^ch^ Caused sume of you for to leiue them. oh what a fillthy and abominable thing this is to heare: y^t^ you should be persecuted: for Conscience sake, and liue to come to persecute others euen unto death, because they are Come to posses: y^e^ life and substance of that, w^ch^ you profes in words and theirfore is your hatred against them: theirfore hath the lord required it and layd it upon sume of his seruants for to try you unto death, that if you satisfie your wills upon them: the lord will doe w^th^ you as he hath determined. Soe Remember you are warned of y^e^ thing in your life time, before y^e^ euill day Com upon you. By y^e^ spirit of the liueing god. From us who was Counted foules among you: But is Content to be soe. Whose names in y^e^ flesh is

William Robinson and
Marmaduke Stevenson.

[Addressed] A Paper to you who are[1] | Called magestrates and the Preists | which Joyne w^th^ you in persecution | within this towne of Boston: and Else | where in New England.

From Francis Howgill.

John Indicott Governo^r^ of Boston and Rich: Billingham: who haue made yo^r^ selfes manifest by yo^r^ actions and Carrages, by yo^r^ pap^rs^ and writings; loue of y^e^ serpents Seed, who makes Warr w^th^ y^e^ Lamb, and his followers; who are Joyned w^th^ y^e^ Dragon; and casts out floods aft^r^ y^e^ woman and y^e^ remnants of her seed, to destroy her and y^m^ y^t^ soe y^u^ might rule in y^e^ kingdome of darkness w^th^out molestation: Rich:

[1] The word "magistrates" followed, but was struck out.

Billingham thy envettred words and thy p^rsecutinge spirit; y^e Sound of w^ch hath reached as farr as Old England; yo^u y^t were Cryers out of p^rsecution and Cruelty in time past; are now become as Cruell p^rsecutors, as any of y^e beasts followers yo^u fled y^e Crosse of x^t here in England, when yo^u were proved and tryed, when yo^u should haue borne Witness for god in yo^r generation; and now y^t w^ch fled y^e Crosse p^rsecute y^m who take up y^e Crosse; and follow x^t in y^e straite way; w^ch yo^u yet never sett foott in; and y^e nature w^ch was to be Limited by y^e Crosse of x^t yo^u caryed w^th yo^u into New England; and now it manifests it selfe by yo^r bloody Cruelty and insolente wickedness w^ch yo^u haue acted; w^ch makes yo^r names and practizes to stinke amongst all sob^r people and art become as Cruell and bruitish; as y^e barbarious heathens; and y^e popish Inquissito^rs are shorte off yo^u in Cruelty; madness and wicked inventions: and now yo^u rejoice in yo^r jniquity; although it were y^e high and only way to felicity; Rich: Billingham: thou saist thou art glad to heare of M^r Gordens carefull and faithfull proceedings ag^t y^e incorragable; obstinatid, Roguish, Quakers; as for Gorden he is manifest to be of y^e same w^th thee in Cains way in Envie and Wrath hath manifeste his folly in y^e County of Suffolke; soe all sob^r people, abhorres and detests his practizes; and is Counted no other then a pevish willfull blind Ignorante man; befo^r whose face y^e feare of y^e Lord is not, and his proceedings will never bringe honno^r to him, but rather infamy and reproach, and externall shame; and truly y^e Least of y^e Children of light; and y^m y^t have but any moderation as men are ashamed of his practize; both superio^rs and inferio^rs and thou y^t rejoicest; and art glad of his proceedings, and also some others whom thou writest by w^ch is one w^th thy spirite; thy rejoiceinge is not good; and thy Joy shall be turned into mourninge and shame shall cover thy face: when y^e Lord god of heaven and Earth ariseth in his righteous Judgm^ts to plead w^th thee and all his Enemies; by his righteous Judgm^tt then shame and Confussion shall cover yo^r faces; thou saith they are a formidable People and not to be neglected; for many follow their p^rnitious wayes: I say they are a people; whose begininge; hath been but small, who hath come through greate tribulations; whose End shall be greate. They are y^e heritage whom god hath chosen; to place his name in; and reveall his Power unto; and to be witnesses of his Salvation; unto y^e Ends of y^e Earth; and they are and have been and shall be a dread unto all their Enemies, and though thou mayest seeke to oppose, and use all thy diligence and neglecte no oppertunity; to w^thstand y^m, yet it is but all; as if thou shouldest sett Thornes and briars; in battell ag^t y^e Lord: thou saist; if y^e Lord hath given these heriticks Comission to kill y^e Witnesses; They are malignante anouffe to make it y^e most direfull Execution y^t ever befell gods people; Heriticks are they who deney y^e true foundation; x^t y^e true light y^t

lighteth every man y^t^ cometh into y^e^ world; amongst whom thou w^th^ Jn^o^ Indicott and y^e^ rest of y^e^ blood thirsty men in New England; whose malignity hath appeared, whose cruelty hath surpassed and sup[er]-abounded many y^t^ are gone before yo^u^; and y^e^ witness yo^u^ have killed in yo^r^selfes; and y^e^ witnesses yo^u^ seeke to destroy w^th^out yo^u^ and yo^r^ Execution ag^t^ both y^e^ witnesses hath been as wicked as most of y^e^ Persecuto^rs^ of old; who hath ploughed longe furowes upon y^e^ backs of his people; soe have yo^u^ done w^th^ yo^r^ whipps, and yo^r^ stripes againe and againe; by yo^r^ owne Confession; w^ch^ hath not only teared y^e^ flesh of Gods people; but reached to y^e^ sinues; and to their Joyntes and yet yo^u^ would be called x^t^ians; oh full of Ignorance and grosse stupidity; x^t^ came not to destroy men's lifes; but to save y^m^: and yo^u^ pretend yo^r^selfes Rulers and x^t^ian magistrates; and would not be accounted men of Blood, and insteed of savinge yo^u^ seeke to destroy; as yo^r^ actions have made manifeste; ag^t^ William Brend (a man feareing god a sob^r^ man knowne to many of y^e^ inhabitants of y^e^ Citty of London, to be a Just man in his Generation;) in causinge 117: stripes and upwards to be Executed on his body; by a Pytchd-Rope; as though he had been a Blocke; or a stone, altogeath^r^ insenceable; shameless men and full of Impudency and hard heartedness; in whose hearts there is no remorse; nor fear of god. Witness yo^r^ Cutting off y^e^ Eares of Jn^o^ Copeland: Christo: Holder and Jn^o^ Rouse, men feareinge God; and as well educated as yo^r^selfes; and for no transgression at all; of any law of God; neith^r^ any of yo^r^ owne; but when yo^u^ had none y^t^ would reach to be a Cover for yo^r^ Cruelty yo^u^ goe unto y^e^ neith^r^most hell; To invent laws w^ch^ all x^t^ians; are ashamed off; and all sob^r^ people detests it; and soe let yo^r^ actions; beare witness to yo^r^ faces; and let all sob^r^ people Judge, who are in y^e^ Malignity; and who are y^e^ slayers of y^e^ witnesses; and these Quakers by open Profession; Thou saith, tendeth to ruine all xtian Society; Compassinge sea and land to y^t^ end; thou vomits out thy rage and casts up mire and dirte like a raginge wave, but thy bound is sett; y^t^ w^ch^ y^e^ Quakers professeth Tendeth, to y^e^ uniteing of all; (y^t^ beleive) unto x^t^ and one to anoth^r^ in love and verity in peace and in meekness long sufferinge and patience; but all such society; y^t^ thou art off; who art asotiated; w^th^ death and hell, and Cryes a Confederacy w^th^ all y^e^ army of y^e^ beast; who is full of rage; venome and insolency and wickedness; whose hearte is set on fire of hell; w^ch^ makes all this flame and smoke ascend out of y^e^ pitt, where thou and y^e^ Rest y^t^ are asociated; w^th^ thee resides, and hath yo^r^ dwellinge place; and Thou saith; there Religion is to speake Rebelion, Sedition; in y^e^ presence and to y^e^ face of Authority; God will Confound Thy Lyinge Lipps; and bridle thy deceitefull tongue and Cause sorrow to fill thy hearte; in y^e^ day of his righteous judgm^tt^ for all Thy hard Speeches; false accusations; slanderous words; all sob^r^ people in England,

Scoteland and Ireland knowes thee to be a Lyer; all people in every Secte have been stirrers up of partyes and have in one thinge or other striven to rebell ag^{t} y^{t} power w^{ch} hath gone aboute to Limitt y^{m} in their Ends; but y^{e} people scornefully reproached called Quakers; hath borne all; hath suffered under all; in patience; and have leten many floods goe over y^{m} and many waves Compasse y^{m}: and yet have rested In patience: knowinge y^{t} it is bett^{r} to suffer wronge then to doe wrong; Though I tell thee y^{e} Quakers soe Called: might more Justly in the 3: Nations claim Propriety and liberty; for y^{e} Exercise of Their pure Consciences and also their persons and estates; then any other people in y^{e} 3 Nations besides for they are they y^{t} haue stood by y^{e} Authority in y^{e} time of greatest dainger; in y^{e} time of y^{e} bishops when p^{r}secution was y^{e} greatest w^{ch} yo^{u} like Cowards fled from they staid in y^{e} midst of it; bearing their Testimony ag^{t} y^{e} grosse Ignorance of y^{m} who Exercised Lordshipp ouer y^{e} heritage of god; in y^{t} time, and also in all y^{e} late warrs in y^{e} 3 nations; there are few of y^{m} but haue Joyned wth y^{m} w^{ch} cryed up reformation, and semed to seeke aft^{r} Righteous things, and their fidelity to righteous governm^{t} magistracy and ministry manifeste to all unbiazed spirits; and though now at last when we expected free Liberty for y^{e} Exercise of o^{r} Consciences; and preservation of o^{r} p^{r}sons and estates w^{ch} had been a just recompence fo^{r} all o^{r} so^{r} trialls travells and Labours; but behold a Troope of Robers haue labo^{r}ed to nipp and to spoyle y^{e} plante of renowne, w^{ch} god is bringing forth and haue made havocke of o^{r} estates and cryes up y^{e} powers of y^{e} Earth to stand by y^{m} fo^{r} their owne Ends onely to maintaine their Covetous greedy practizes and behold y^{e} Priests of these Nations they are now as they haue beene in former generations foemento^{rs} of mischeefe, stirrers up of sedeition and patronizers of Rebellion and seekinge to make partyes to uphold their deceite and calls upon authority to p^{r}secute; and tells y^{e} magistrate they ought to doe soe and teacheth y^{m} to abuse their power to y^{e} provokeing of y^{e} wrath of god ag^{t} a Nation or a people; and Thou saith in y^{e} presence of authority they labour to make y^{e} magistrate to be a man of blood thou Ignorante man who hath Lost thy naturall reason; will a magistrate who is become a man of blood, become advantageous to vs, but rather haue not we suffered; and wold not yo^{u} be Counted bloody Magistrates; then cease yo^{r} sheding of blood; yo^{r} whipinge, yo^{r} beating, yo^{r} burning and stigmatizing; yo^{r} cuting of off Eares for Else yo^{r} owne action hath and will evidence and demonstrate yo^{u} to be men of blood, and yo^{u} will be recorded amongst y^{e} blood thirsty and cruell p^{r}secuto^{rs} and yo^{u} can Expecte nothing from y^{e} hand of god; but severe destruction; and thou saisth they Encorrage people ag^{t} Lawfull authority, not regardinge their lifes. soe they may attaine their End; would yo^{u} be accounted Lawfull authority w^{t} law of god hath Authorized yo^{u} to turne yo^{r}

Sword ag^{t} y^{e} innocente and vpright; and many love not their lifes vnto death; to finish their testimony ag^{t} y^{e} dragon and his pow^{r} y^{e} beast and his authority; w^{ch} would compell all both small and great, to worshipp him, and were yo^{u} not blind yo^{u} might see; y^{t} yo^{u} are his followers and not y^{e} Lambes followers; thou saith, was there ever any state soe bereaved of reason; as to suffer such things y^{e} honno^{r} of god; y^{e} safty of Religion; y^{e} peace of y^{e} Countrey is invaded by these Emissaries of Sathan; yo^{u} are y^{t} state y^{t} is bereaved of sence and bereaved of reason; who thinks to defend yo^{r} Religion by Clubbs and staves: Cains Weapons, and thinke to bringe honno^{r} to god by killing his serva^{tts} and defaceing his workmanship w^{ch} he hath made; and are amonst y^{e} Pharrasees recorded; who thought they did god good Service when they wente aboute to kill his memb^{rs} and are not yo^{r} thoughts, y^{e} same yo^{u} blind and slow of hearte to beleive; and shall not y^{e} Magistrates thou saith; be as Confidente to punish; as they to offend Capitally; w^{t} is y^{e} offence; yo^{u} had no law till yo^{u} had made one, to satisfie yo^{r} wicked End; and yo^{r} insatiable Cruelty; and though yo^{u} may be Confident y^{t} this will stopp y^{e} spreading of y^{e} Truth of god ouer y^{e} Earth; yo^{u} shall know yee potsherds yo^{r} Confidense shall fail; and truth shall goe ouer yo^{r} (hills) as a flood; at this time thou saist we haue 12. Quakers in prison in Boston; to thy shame be it spoken; who gives such Entertainm^{t} to straing^{rs} and to men of yo^{r} owne nac̄on; yo^{u} are farr from Abrahams Spirite, and farr from Jobes Spirite; who opened his dore to travellers; and entertained y^{e} straing^{r} and yo^{u} are out of y^{e} Law of god who Comaunded to Entertaine Straingers and were not yo^{u} once Straing^{rs} in this land, and doe yo^{u} thus Requite y^{e} lord for his kindness as to shutt y^{m} vp in holes and denns and Caves and pharoh like hath yo^{r} taskmast^{rs} to Exercise yo^{r} Cruelty vpon y^{m} oh unheard of Cruelty and vnparrallelld wickedness y^{e} memoriall of yo^{r} Cry will not easyly be blotted out but will sound into y^{e} Eares of generations to come; and y^{e} record of yo^{u} will be vnthankfullness; and ingratitude; and yo^{r} inhuman Cruelty hath appeared to yo^{r} owne neighbo^{rs} who haue recided longe amongst yo^{u}, men of greate age; and of Fame in yo^{r} Countrey for vprightness haue become yo^{r} prey; and this is fullfilled amongst yo^{u} w^{ch} was spoken on by y^{e} prophett; her Princes are as eveninge wolues who is greedy of their prey; who gnawes not y^{e} bones till y^{e} morrow; thou saist they prevaile much; they haue prevailed and shall prevaile for strong is y^{e} Lord of hosts y^{t} is wth y^{m} and goes before y^{m} whose arme Compasseth y^{m} aboute and refreshes y^{m} and preserves y^{m} in patience; in y^{e} midst of all yo^{r} Cruelty; for nowe apon [?] y^{t} is formed ag^{t} him; whom they beare witness of; shall prosper and every tongue y^{t} riseth vp in Judgm^{tt} ag^{t} him will he condemne. thou saith; there are two Jews among y^{m} w^{t} if there be; vsed not yo^{u} and y^{e} rest of yo^{r} Clergy to pray fo^{r} y^{e} Converssion of y^{e} Jewes; and are yo^{u} now angry; if any of y^{m} be turned

from darkness to light; but none can Escape thy slanderous tongue w^th^out reproach; thou saith y^e^ Joynctu^r^ betweene y^e^ Jesuits; and these heriticks is strong; thou art nearer Joyned to y^e^ Jesuits; then the Quakers: for they and yo^u^ in New England; are workinge one and y^e^ selfe same Worke; will not most people in y^e^ Regions know thy Lyes, is it not Publickely knowne in many Countreys: y^t^ two of y^e^ Quakers are Imprisoned by y^e^ pope; and Jesuites at Rome, lately and hath been put in y^e^ inquisition, and one of y^m^ prisoned till death; and y^e^ oth^r^ remaines in prison, vnder Cruell bonds: till this day; and how read whether y^e^ Joyntu^r^ betweene y^e^ Jesuites and yo^u^ be not great, who are actinge in one and y^e^ selfe worke; and brings forth one and y^e^ selfe same fruite: y^e^ Aples of Sodam: and y^e^ grapes of Gomorrah; whom god destroyed; w^ch^ will be y^e^ End of all y^e^ wicked; except they repente. There is more danger, thou saith: in this people to trouble and ouercome: England; then y^e^ King of Scots; and all y^e^ Popish Princes in Germany; thy tongue is sett on fyer of hell; w^ch^ makes thee vtt^r^ forth all these horrid Lyes, and false accusations; and bitt^r^ things ag^t^ y^e^ lord and his people; and will not all sob^r^ people in England see thy Envie, haue not England had suffitiente proofe of o^r^ fidelity; ag^t^ y^e^ King of Scotts, and y^e^ Popish priests confederate w^th^ him and thousands in England shall beare witness for vs, ag^t^ thee, and all thy false accusations; thou saist they strengthen all discontents ag^t^ y^e^ presente governm^tt^, and hath all plotts and encourrage all Combinations and insurrections: y^e^ present governm^t^ of these Nations; will be a witness for vs ag^t^ thee: y^t^ amon^st^ all y^e^ people in y^e^ Nations, we haue been most passive and sufferinge, and y^e^ discontents, and plotts: and Combinations from time to time: have been among y^e^ Presbyter Priests, and their Faction; of whose stocke and offspringe yo^u^ are; and further thou saist, they vente horrid blasphemy ag^t^ god; w^ch^ ought to be persecuted, w^th^ y^e^ severest Sensures: thou art of y^t^ generation y^t^ Called y^e^ M^r^ of y^e^ house; Belzebub; and in y^e^ steepps of y^e^ persecutinge Jewes, who said he hath spoken blasphemy, w^t^ need we any more witness: but how can we speake evill or blaspheeme him who is our life: and in y^e^ day, when he ariseth to Judge all y^e^ Earth in righteousness; he will Justifie vs and cleare vs, and Condemne the maligunity and thy hard speeches and vaine thoughts w^ch^ lodge in thy corrupted hearte; from whence all these vnsavory words hath been vttered forth, and [*torn*] New Englands deviuity to teach p^r^secution: y^t^ thou art so Impudente as to owne it in words, w^ch^ will persecute w^th^ y^e^ severest [*torn*] testimony is of y^e^ devill, and is in Cains way, and doth thou lay this down for a doctrine to England to appease y^e^ wrath of god, towards it. I say p^r^secution and severe sensures is y^t^ w^ch^ kindled y^e^ wrath of god; on These Nations; and did ouertake y^e^ bishops, y^e^ kinge, and all their Confederacy, and ouer threw y^e^ Nobles of y^e^ Land; y^e^ Auntiente and y^e^ honorable; w^ch^ were y^e^

head and all y^e^ false propheths, w^ch^ were y^e^ taile; and y^t^ same wrath shall be stretched ouer yo^u^ who are of y^t^ stocke and offspringe: manifested by those deadly actions and carract^rs^ of most horrid and wicked Cruelty; w^ch^ y^e^ Lord god will Confound and blaste; and sett his truth aboue it all.

And, John Indicott, Thou saith y^e^ Quakers trouble: vs very much: Though we cause y^m^ to be whipped; and sente away; againe; and againe: yet they returne againe. Thou mayest see there is anoth^r^ spiritt in y^m^ then was in yo^u^ when yo^u^ fled from ould England from vnder y^e^ Bishops; yo^u^ would suffer nothing for y^e^ truth; and therefore were yo^u^ given vpp: to y^e^ same spiritt y^t^ was in y^e^ p^r^secuto^rs^ heere in England. this is entred into yo^u^ now, and become tenn fould stronger; but now he y^t^ is stronger then all, hath appeared; and is cominge to trouble yo^u^ and to disquiett yo^u^ of yo^r^ rest; w^ch^ yo^u^ haue taken vp in in y^e^ Earth; w^t^ hath yo^r^ Gospell and y^e^ ministers thereoff noe more strength in y^m^ to Convince y^e^ gainsay^rs^ then gainsay^rs^ haue to seduce y^m^ y^t^ are in y^e^ truth; y^e^ day of yo^r^ trouble is come: and y^e^ beginninge of sorrows is kindled vpon yo^u^, and a greater woe followes after. For y^e^ Rodd of god is stretched out ouer yo^u^, and shall reach vnto yo^u^ and turne yo^r^ Councills backward; and Confound yo: in y^e^ midst of yo^r^ Combinations; where did any Christian magistrates whipp and Imprison any for Religion sake or Conscience sake; or cutt of their Eares. where is yo^r^ Law: did any Minister of x^t^ p^r^swade y^e^ magistrate, it was Lawfull for him to doe soe. give vs some Evidence; and let vs se yo^r^ Rule and by w^t^ Autho^r^ity: yo^u^ doe these things; and from whence yo^u^ haue yo^r^ Authority. I am sure, God never authorized it; x^t^ nor his ministers, nor noe Christian Magistrate: y^t^ ruled for god; never countenanced any such thinge; as to whipp againe and againe, to beate w^th^ Ropes: till men fall downe as dead; till mens flesh become as Jelly, as some of yo^r^ owne haue said; and shall not y^e^ sa^tts^ be bold to tell yo^u^ that this is of y^e^ Divell: who was a Lyer, and a murderer from y^e^ begininge, in whose foote stepps yo^u^ are; who shall receive a reward, according to yo^r^ works; and Thou saist divers of yo^u^ doe Thinke y^t^ vnLess y^e^ Courte doe make a Law to banish y^m^ and not to Returne; vppon paine of death: this Collony will not be ridd of y^m^. Nay nor then neith^r^ Though yo^u^ make a Covenante w^th^ death and agreem^tt^ w^th^ hell, and shake hands w^th^ y^e^ Prince of Darkness, yo^r^ Covena^tts^ shall be broken and yo^r^ Confederacy disanulled; and yo^u^ Confounded in y^e^ midst of yo^r^ Councells: W^t^ have yo^u^ yo^r^ Law to make yet; to serve yo^r^ Turnes: It seemes yo^u^ arte not by y^e^ Law of god; w^ch^ is made allready, w^ch^ is Equall, Just and good: and is for y^e^ Transgressor of Justice, goodness and Equity, but takes not hold vpon y^e^ Just, no^r^ Equall, nor good; but yo^u^ must now haue another invented to satisfie yo^r^ envious Minds; and To Accomplish yo^r^ wicked determinations; and

yo^{u} y^{t} thinke to make a law, to banish and to put to death, yo^{r} thoughts are vaine, and wicked; and god will bringe y^{m} to Judgm^{tt} and Condemne yo^{u} for y^{m}, for x^{t} came not to destroy mens Lives, but to save y^{m}. But y^{e} Divell makes Lawes to destroy; and not to save: Read yo^{r} Example, and let Shame Cover your faces; and astonishm^{tt} fill yo^{r} hearts. y^{t} yo^{u} should become soe bruitish and vaine: in yo^{r} thoughts as to thinke to limitt y^{e} Lord of heaven and Earth: Can yo^{u} Comannd y^{e} Wind, y^{t} it blow not. Can yo^{u} stope y^{e} botles of heaven, y^{t} they poure not forth water; if yo^{u} Canot, noe mo^{r} Can yo^{u} Limitt y^{e} Lord; and if yo^{u} make any such Lawes, to banish, or put to death; It will procure y^{e} Indignation and Wrath of god, most speedily; more then if y^{e} King of Scots, and all y^{e} Popish princes in y^{e} World, did Enter into y^{e} midst of yo^{r} Land, but this is come to passe, y^{t} yo^{r} Hipocricy and deceite might be made manifest in y^{e} sight of y^{e} Sonn; and y^{t} all men might see, w^{t} profession of words, is wthout y^{e} Life of x^{t} to rule in men. If it should have been told yo^{u} when yo^{u} fled from this Nation, w^{t} yo^{u} would doe in y^{e} time to come, ag^{t} god, and his Serv^{tts} yo^{u} would have said wth Hazall, are we doggs; but y^{e} hearte of man is deceitefull: vnconverted; and yo^{r} deceived hearts haue led yo^{u} aside. Thou thinkest, They are y^{e} worst Heriticks. Thy Eye being Blynded, and thy Vnderstandinge darkned; and Thy Hearte full of Envie; how shouldst thou Thinke otherwise. But Thy thoughts shall be discovered, vnto thee; and Thou shall be Convinced of y^{e} Evill of y^{m}. Thou saist, One Whom many thinke is a Jesuitt: Pressed Fo^{r} a Conferance wth one of o^{r} Teach^{rs} Called M^{r} Norton: But y^{e} Quak^{r} was quickly weary off it; yo^{u} Live by yo^{r} Thoughts and knowes nothing. If he had been a Jesuite. It is like he might have had mo^{r} Favo^{r} From yo^{u}, and y^{e} Minister might be very bold, knowing befo^{r} hand no Evill was like to befall him, havinge y^{e} Rulers wth their Clubbs on his side; y^{e} Prison dores and house of Correction, Ready to receive y^{e} Quak^{rs} y^{e} Jaylo^{rs} and Task Mast^{rs} wth Their Quipps; and y^{e} Bucherly Fellows, wth Their Knives, to cutt off Ears, at y^{e} pleasure, and wills of a Company of Envious men; Before whose face y^{e} feare of y^{e} Lord is not; But it is like yo^{u} will make y^{e} Quaker weary Soone; If he would louke out at your Cruelty; If yo^{u} did as sometimes some of yo^{r} Priests and Rulers; caused to Be done in New England, stopp napkins in their Mouthes, and Bound keeys ouer Their Mouthes; y^{t} they could not speake, and Then Boast and Say; y^{e} Quaker had nothing To Answ^{r}. Well, all these things are Recorded, and are Writen as wth a Pen of Iron; and They are Engraved; where They shall not be Blotted out; and yo^{r} are Registred amonge y^{e} Vncircumcised. wth masoke and Tuball; y^{e} greate Princes of Gog, w^{ch} makes Warr ag^{t} y^{e} Lamb, and, his Followers; But y^{e} Lamb, and y^{e} Sain^{ts} shall have The Victory; and yo^{u} shall be Troden as Ashes, Vnder y^{e} Soles of Their Feett; Fo^{r} they shall melte

away y^t^ Hate y^e^ Lord. By One Who is A Witness; Against all Blood Thirsty Men, and Blind Persecuto^rs^

FRANCIS HOWGILL

LONDON The 10^th^ of 11^th^ mo^th^.

[Addressed] To John Indicott Gouerno^r^ Richard Bellingham Deputy Att Boston These

[Endorsed by Edward Rawson] Certaine scurrilous letters and papers d'd into y^e^ Court of Asistants 7 mo 59. by y^e^ Quakers.

CONCERNINGE O^R^ FAITH.[1]

A Declaration to all the World: of our faith: and what we belieue who are Called Quakers.

And this is writen: that all people upon Earth may know: by whom and how wee are saved: and hopes for Eternall life: and what we belieue conserning god: Crist and y^e^ spirit, and of y^e^ things, y^t^ one eternall appertaineing to all mankind: to know and belieue: Conserning god, Crist and y^e^ spirit: thus wee belieue: first y^t^ their is onely one true god: who is a spirit: and his presence filleth heauen and Earth: and he is Eternall and Euerlasting: y^e^ Creator and preserver of all things: y^t^ heauen and Earth: and all things theirin: by him were fraimed and brought forth: and all things remaine unto this day: by his power: and w^t^ soeuer he willeth, in heauen and earth: he bringeth to pase: by his word and power. And we belieue that this god onely is and ought to be feared: loued and obayed: and worshiped by all Cretures: and noe other thing besides him: in heauen and earth, and we belieue: y^t^ his worship and obedience: and feare and loue: is to be giuen in spirit: euen in w^t^ his owne spirit moueth and leadeth his people vnto: and we belieue his loue worship: required: and accepted of him: is not by y^e^ tradition of men: in outward observations or set days or places: but he is worshiped: onely in spirit and truth: without respect of time places or things: and y^t^ none can worship him in righteousnes: but his Chilldren: who are borne of his spirit, and are led and giuded theirby, and we belieue y^t^ this god: hath giuen his son Christ Jesus into ye world: a free gift into y^e^ whole world: and noe nation Country or people: Excepted: but vnto all mankind: is he giuen of god: and hath lightened them: and euery man through y^e^ world: y^t^ belieueth in: and receiueth Christ: who is y^e^ wisdome and power of y^e^ father, shall be saued: with eternall Saluation, and Euery one y^t^ belieueth not in him, shall be damned: and shall posses Euerlasting mesury: and w^e^ belieue: y^t^ Salluation Justification and sanctification: is onely in him:

[1] These words are written where the address should be, and are in the writing of the Howgill document.

and wrought by him, and noe other: for their is noe other name: given vnder heauen: but by him alone: by w^{ch} saluation is And we belieue all y^{t} receiues him: and belieues in him: are reconsiled to god: and are made aliue to god: to liue in him: in all things: and doth receiue forgiuenes of sines: and are set free from all unrighteousnes: and from y^{e} body of sin and death: and hath y^{e} witnes of ye spirit in them: and y^{e} spirit of y^{e} father: they haue receiued: and it witnesseth in them: of y^{e} father: and of ye son: and of y^{e} things: that belong vnto their peace: and its y^{e} earnest of y^{e} inheritance: and y^{e} seall of y^{e} promis: of Eternall life: and by it are y^{e} deepe things of god: reuealed to mankind, and by it y^{e} father and y^{e} son: [1] in y^{e} saints: and by it haue they fellowship one with another: and y^{e} father son and spirit are one: and this we faithfully belieue: againe conserning Christ: we belieue y^{t} he is one with y^{e} father: and was with him: before y^{e} world was: what y^{e} father worketh: it is by y^{e} son: for he is y^{e} arme of gods salluation, and y^{e} very power: and wisdome of y^{e} Creator: and was and is: and is to come: without begining or End: and we belieue y^{t} all y^{e} prophitts: gaue testimony of him; and y^{t} he was manifest in Judea, and Jerusalem: and did y^{e} worke of y^{e} father: and was persecuted of the Jewes: and was Crucified by his Enimyes: and y^{t} he was buried and rose againe: according to y^{e} scriptures: and we belieue: he is now assended on high: and exalted at y^{e} right hand of y^{e} father for euermore: and y^{t} he is glorified: with y^{e} same glory: that he had before y^{e} world was: and y^{t} euen y^{e} same: y^{t} Came downe from heauen: is assended vp to heauen: and y^{e} same y^{t} desended is he y^{t} assended, and we belieue: euen he y^{t} was dead is now aliue: and liues foreuer more: and y^{t} he cometh: and shall come againe: to iudge y^{e} whole world: with righteousnes and all people with Equity: and giue to euery man: according to his: at y^{e} day of iudgment: when all shall arise: to condemnation: or Justification he y^{t} hath don good: shall receiue life: and he that hath don Euill: Euerlasting Condemnation: and we belieue: he is to be waited for in the spirit: to be knowne after y^{e} spirit: as he was before ye world was: and y^{t} y^{s} knowledge vnto eternall life: which all y^{t} belieue in him: doth receiue: and he subdues death: and destroys him y^{t} hath y^{e} power of it: and restoreth from death to life: and quickeneth by his spirit: all y^{t} y^{e} father hath giuen him: and we belieue such he Justifies and sanctifies: and such are taught of him: but he Condemns all y^{t} belieue not, but Continues in vnbeleife: and are not taught of him: and this we faithfully belieue. and we belieue y^{t} vnto all people: vpon y^{e} face of y^{e} whole Earth: is a time and a day of visitation giuen: y^{t} they may returne and be saued: by Christ Jesus: who is giuen of y^{e} father: to Call y^{e} worst of men: to repentance, and y^{e} most vngodly of siners are convinced by him: of their vngodly deeds: that they might

[1] An illegible word, conjectured to be "dwelt."

belieue and be Converted and saued: and we belieue herein is y^e^ loue of god: manifested to all mankind: and y^t^ none is shut out by him: before they were borne in to y^e^ work: but vnto all men is a visitation giuen, and they y^t^ doe perish: it is because they doe not belieue in Christ: and destruction is of mans selfe: but salluation is of god through belieuing in his son: who takes away sin: and renueth into his owne Image: that they might become heires with him. and we belieue y^t^ there is a Crowne of Eternall glory: and an Inheritance of Eternall life: to be enioyed foreuer more: by all that belieue, and are chosen of god: and y^t^ there is an euerlasting misery: and destruction: to be possessed: by all that belieues not: but continues in y^e^ state of reprobation: and are not Chainged: from y^e^ waies of sin and Death: but walkes after y^e^ wayes: of their owne hearts lusts, fullfilling y^e^ will of y^e^ flesh: in y^e^ Euill of this world: and folowes not Christ y^e^ light of y^e^ world: that they may be saued: and we belieue: vpon all such: y^e^ wrath of god abideth: and that they haue noe part in the inheritance of god, and we beleiue: it is onely he that is borne againe: of the spirit: and that walkes after the spirit: who is Chainged from death to life:

And who is redeamed out of y^e^ world: and all its wayes: such onely must inheritt y^e^ kingdome of God: and they onely have right therevnto and none besides: Euen those that are washed: and clensed from all vnrighteousnes: by y^e^ blood of Jesus: by w^ch^ their sines are remited for his blood clenseth from all vnrighteousnes and sin: yea all such y^t^ walke and abide in y^e^ light; which Crist Jesus hath lightned y^e^ world w^th^ all. and we belieue y^t^ y^e^ saints vpon Earth: may receiue forgiuenes of sines: and may be perfectly freed from y^e^ body of sin and death: and in Crist may be perfect and without sin: and may haue victory ouer all temptations by faith: in Crist Jesus: and we belieue euery saint y^t^ is called of god: ought to press after perfection to ouercome y^e^ Devill and all his temptations: vpon Earth: and we belieue they that faithfully waite for it: shall obtaine it and shall be presented without sin in y^e^ Image of y^e^ father; and such walkes not after y^e^ flesh but after y^e^ spirit: and are in Couenant with god and their sines are blotted out and remembred noe more: for they seece to comit sin: being borne of god: and we belieue y^e^ gospell of Crist is the power of god vnto saluation: and y^t^ it ought to be preached freely vnto all people: and Crist to be held forth to all mankind: by y^e^ ministry sent of him, and wee belieue this ministry: is receiued by y^e^ gift of y^e^ holy ghost: and all y^t^ receiue it: are lawfully Called to y^e^ ministry: and they may preach y^e^ gospell: of Crist freely: as they haue receiued: it freely: and this ministry is not of man: but of god: and is made powerfull to the conuerting of siners: and to y^e^ bringing of people to god: and to y^e^ knowledge of his wayes: and we doe not belieue: y^t^ any man is a minister of Crist: without y^e^ gift of y^e^ holy ghost: or y^t^ y^e^ gospell can

be receiued: by naturall learneing or Education: and we belieue such as preacheth for hire: and hath hire for preaching: are not y^e^ lawfull called ministers: of y^e^ gospell of Christ: such as are proud and high-minded and Covetus men: who doth not profit y^e^ people at all: such as haue run and neuer were sent of Christ: who Calleth by his spirit: into the worke of y^e^ ministry, and as Euery one hath receiued y^e^ gifte of y^t^ his spirit: soe he may administer to others. Conserning Rulers and Gouernors we belieue y^t^ there ought to be rulers and gouernors: in Euery nation: city Country or towne: and they ought to be such men: as feareth god and hateth euery Euill way: who will iudge for god: and not for man: and will iudge righteously: equaly and iustly: and will giue true and sound iudgment vnto all men: without bribery or respect of persones: not regarding y^e^ rich aboue y^e^ power: but being a prays vnto all that doe well: and a tirer: to all Euill doers: whatsoeuer: haueing knowledge in y^e^ pure law of god: pure reason and Equity: being the foundation theiroff: y^t^ gods witnes in euery man: may answere to it: and y^e^ law ought to be knowne: vnto all people: before transgression: be Charged or punished in any man. and we belieue y^t^ euery transgression: ought to be punished according to its nature: and y^t^ y^e^ punishment: exceed not y^e^ greatnes of y^e^ transgression: neither ought any transgression: to escape vnpunished: neither ought any vpon false suspition: or ielusies: to be caused to sufer: w^th^out y^e^ testimony of true men: or y^e^ Confesion of y^e^ pairty. and we belieue that Exeecutors of y^e^ law: ought to be iust men: and not giuen to pride Drunkenes: or any other Euill: whatsoeuer: and ought to be chosen Euery yeare: or other wise by y^e^ Consent of y^e^ people: and y^t^ noe man be stoped of his free Choyce exeept iustly taxed: and we belieue, y^t^ all gouernours and rulers: ought to be acountable to y^e^ people: and to y^e^ next proseeding Rulers: for all their actions: which may be inquired: into: vpon occasion: and y^t^ y^e^ Cheifest of y^e^ rulers: be subiect vnder y^e^ law: and punishable by it: if they be transgressors: as well as y^e^ poorest of y^e^ people: and thus true iudgment and iustise will be brought forth in y^e^ Earth: and all y^t^ doe well will haue prays: and liue in rest and peace: and all euill doers: whatsoeuer may stand in awe, and be afraid of god and iust men: and y^e^ Execution of gods lawes: Conserning religion: wee belieue: y^t^ it is onely y^e^ spirit of y^e^ lord: y^t^ makes men truely religious. and y^t^ noe man: ought to be Compeled to or from: any Exarsice or practis in religion, by any outward law, or power: but Euery man ought to be left free as y^e^ lord shall perswade his owne mind: in doeing or leauing vndon: this or y^e^ other practis: in religion: aud Euery man: of what profesion in religion soeuer: ought to be protected in peace: prouided himselfe be a man of peace: not seeking y^e^ wrong of any mans person or estate, and we belieue y^t^ to reproue:

false oppinions: and unsound docktrines, and principles: seeking to conuince them: y^t^ oppose themselues: by Exortation or sharpe reproufe: by word or writing ought not to be Counted: a breach of y^e^ peace: or to striue aboote y^e^ things of the kingdom of god: by men of contrary minds: or Judgments: this ought not to be punishable: by y^e^ magestrates and their lawes: for we belieue y^t^ y^e^ outward law, and powers of y^e^ Earth: is onely to preserue mans persons and estates, and not to preserue men in opinions: neither ought y^e^ law of y^e^ nation to be layd vpon mens consiences: to bind them: to our Consiences: and his spirit onely must lead: into all truth:

And we belieue y^t^ obedience and subiection in y^e^ lord: belongs to superiours and y^t^ subiects ought to obey them: in y^e^ lord: y^t^ haue rule ouer them: and y^t^ Chilldren ought to obay their parents: and wiues their husbands: and seruants their masters in all things: w^ch^ is according to god: w^ch^ stands in y^e^ Exarsice of a pure Consience towards god: but where Rulers parents or masters: or any other: commandeth or requireth subiection in any thing: w^ch^ is contrary to god: or not according to him: in such Causes all people are free and ought to obay god rather than man: and we belieue that herein god will justifie them: being guided and led by his spirit: in all things which is good: and out of all that which is Euill.

Againe we belieue, conserning Election: and reprobation: that there is a state of Election and a state of reprobation: a state chosen of god, and a state reiected of god, and y^t^ all mankind are in one of these states: all y^t^ are elected: and elected in Christ and all y^t^ are out of him: and in y^e^ state reprobate: bringing forth fruits of Death: and darknes: being Chilldren of wrath: and disobedience: in y^e^ alination and seperation from god: in y^e^ transgression vnreconsiled to god: y^e^ Enmity ruleing: in y^e^ hart: being in y^e^ fall and not restored to god againe: but ignorant of his power: and of his wisdome: haueing y^e^ vnderstanding darkned: y^t^ they Cannot see nor perceiue: y^e^ things y^t^ are Eternall, and in this Condision: his best workes are sin: and whatsoeuer he doth: he cannot be accepted: w^th^ god, for he is dead to god: and aliue to all Euill: bringing forth all his workes: out of y^t^ ground which is cursed: this is y^e^ Condition of all mankind: vpon y^e^ face of y^e^ earth in y^e^ first Adam: and this is y^e^ state of reprobation, and all y^t^ abides herein: are reiected of god: and shall neuer Inherit Eternall life: but goes into perdition: yet haue all such a day of visitation: that they may returne: out of y^e^ state of reprobation: but hateing knowledge, and despiseing the loue of god: they continue in y^e^ state Reprobate: and y^e^ wrath of god abides vpon them: but they y^t^ are chosen of god are deliuered from wrath: for they belieue in y^e^ light: and becomes Chilldren: of y^e^ light: and are renued in mind and hart: and receiueth y^e^ loue of y^e^ father: and becometh plants into Christ:

y^e^ second Adam, and are chosen in him: to bring forth fruit vnto y^e^ father: and all their fruit springeth from that ground: w^ch^ is blessed: for they are led by y^e^ spirit of y^e^ father: and such are in y^e^ state of Election: who are heires with Christ of y^e^ Euerlasting inheritence: w^ch^ neuer fades away: and this we faithfully belieue: that mercy is not showed to y^e^ reprobate; nor iudgment: to y^m^ y^t^ are chosen of god:

And this is to goe abroad, in y^e^ world: that all people may vnderstand what we belieue: and what we haue receiued of god: and they y^t^ belieue this and walke therein: by y^e^ spirit of y^e^ father shall be saued, but they that belieue not: but are disobedient to y^e^ truth: shall be condemned, because they doe not belieue. much more might be writen: but in short this is giuen forth: by one y^t^ hath belieued and retained the knowledge of these things from God. a frind vnto all People.

EDWARD BURROUGH

FROM WILLIAM DEWSBURY.

To all Nations, Kindreds, Languages and Tongues and People w^th^ the princes and Rulers, and all people from the highest, to the Lowest, this to you is the word of the Lord God: Feare god and give glory to his name, for the houre of his Judgm^ts^ is come; and his dreadfull terrible day will come speedily vpon all nations and people therfore worshipp him that made heauen and earth the sea and the fountaines of waters, and them vpholds by the word of his power. Lett his dread and feare be vpon you all people: See what acquaintance and vnion you haue w^th^ him, he is a god y^t^ will not be mocked; who is now comming in his pure dreadfull majestie, and glorious almighty power, to breake downe and dash in peeces, like a potters vessell, all people, from the highest to the Lowest, from the prince on the throne, to the beggar on the dunghill, in, and amongst all nations, kindreds, languages, tongues and people; who put y^e^ day of the lord god afarr of, and liue w^thout the knowledge of the only trew god in this world; seruing an vnknowne god in the Ignorance of yo^r^ minds, and in traditions, worshiping you know not what, and walking euery on in yo^r^ owne wayes; doing yo^r^ owne workes, w^ch^ leads to satisfie the flesh, in the Lusts thereof, all which is abhominac̃on to the only true, eu̇er liuing god; to whom you must giue an account for euery Idle word and all the deeds done in the body; all people vpon the face of the earth, lett the time past bee suffitiente. you haue liued, w^thout the true knowledge of the only true god, in this the liuing god visitts you, w^th^ a day of visitation of his mercie; to declare vnto you his councell that you may come to y^e^ knowledge of him; bee warned to depart from yo^r^ euill wayes, and harken diligentlie to y^e^ councell of the onlie true god; who waites vpon you, to bee gratious to

you; whose grace is appeared vnto you, w^{ch} is y^{t} light Christ Jesus the Sonn of god hath lighted you wthall, y^{t} discouereth vnto you the secrett euill of y^{e} harte and Conscience; in the feare of y^{e} liuing god, search yo^{r} hartes wth the light, w^{ch} is the Councill of god y^{t} conuinceth you, in yo^{r} hartes and consciences, y^{t} lying is a sinn, swearing is a sinn, Couetousness is a sin, pride is a sin, drunkenness and gluttony is a sin, whordome and vncleañess a sin; Cozeñing and cheating a sin, and dissimulac̃on a sin, tiranny, crueltie and oppression is sins, murder wth the formentioned, w^{ch} cries to the god of heauen for vengeance, w^{ch} if you walck not in obedience to the grace of god, the light w^{ch} discouereth y^{m} to guide you out of them; as y^{e} Lord destroyed the old world, who rejected his councill; so will the Lord god of heauen and earth breake in vpon you: all people scatered in all nations, kindreds, Tongues, Languages; for the Eternall decree is gone ouer you all who walke in wicked wayes he will breake you downe and dash you to peices, and you shall become an abhorring to all flesh, therfore prize the time, while god preserues you, for the day of yo^{r} visitacon is come, wherin y^{e} god of heauen invites and exhorts you, in the power of the spiritt to returne vnto him, w^{ch} if you diligently hearken vnto his councill, the light w^{ch} shewes the euill way, and conuinceth of the sin, as before written, and waite in the light on him, to lead you out of all Idolatry, and euery sinfull and euill way, then will the onlie true god giue you power ouer yo^{r} sinfull and vncleane natures, and he will teach you his wayes, and lead you into the path of righteousness, and saue you out of all Idolatrous wayes you haue walked in, and will establish you in the eternall rest and peace wth all his Children, that walke in obedience to his councill, the light w^{ch} conuinceth of sin; in the secreet of the harte and conscience in w^{ch} light he is gathering his people out of all nations kindreds, Languages, Tongues and peoples into his owne kingdome, in y^{e} light wth him to walck, who is now establishing his kingdome in the earth, w^{ch} kingdome shall break downe all other kingdomes, and their dominion take away, and destroy to y^{e} end; Then shall the kingdome of y^{e} euer liuing god be knowne in y^{e} earth to destroy the Image, that will not submitt to him, and to establish all that walke in the light, in his euerlasting kingdome to dwell, and ther to praise his name, who alone is worthy ouer all God blessed for euer:

Heare and feare all nations kindreds Tongues and People, repente and turne to the only true god, in harkening diligently to his councill, y^{e} light that conuinceth you of sin, the secrets of yo^{r} hartes and Consciences, y^{t} you be not cutt of, in his dreadfull day of the feirce wrath, of y^{e} euerlasting god; wherin he will destroy all Idolatry out of the earth and perfirme according to his word here declared, and you shall certainly know, the mouth of y^{e} Lord hath spoken it, w^{ch} he will bring vpon all nations, remember you are warned in yo^{r} life time, in this day

of yo^r visitation, if you slight itt, yo^r destruction is of your selues, and yo^r blood is vpon yo^r owne heads. From the righteous seed of whom it is written, it shall be no more said the Lord liueth y^t brought vp out of the Land of Egept, but the Lord liueth y^t hath raysed vp his seed and brought it forth of the North Country Jeremiah is euen forth of y^e North contrey called England, from the seed of god ther arisen, that shall spread ouer all the Nations of y^e World.

WILLIAM DEWSBURY.[1]

A TESTIMONY.

24^th day of 6 mo^th 1675.

A Testimony from (us in Scorne called Quakers but are) the Children of y^e light.

Christ Jesus y^e light of the world, and prince of peace is comne, and hath giuen an understandinge that is true; And also a beeinge in measure w^thin his kingdome w^ch consists of peace and Joy everlastinge; yea! he hath manifested y^e root of Bitterness, from whence y^t plant of unrighteousness hath sprunge vp, w^ch bringes forth cursed fruits (as lyinge, Swearinge, Enuy, Coueteousness, Prid, Fightings, Warring w^th Carnall wepons, blood Sheed, Killinge, Murther, and many more grosse euills in the kingdomes here belowe, (to the dishonour of God's blessed name) yea! and alsoe he hath called to y^e Sons of Men to turne from death and its way, to life y^e way to God; And his call hath preuailed w^th a remnant (tho' many haue rejected it) soe y^e Judgment hath been sett up in the earth, and y^e Law of y^e Spirit of life hath taken hould of y^e bitter root, and ouerturned, and is in ouerturninge both branch and root; And the righteousness of y^e Law fulfilled through y^e beleefe; And y^e Kingdome of God, and his Christ comne in men, and his Throwne therin Established and his Scepter exalted and sweighed ouer all; in the hearts of all, That thus haue passed from death to Life, who hath giuen vp their names to Christ y^e Prince of Peace, under his peacable Gouernment in a State of subjection and obedience to abide and dwell in his kingdome, w^ch consists of righteousness, Joy, and Peace in y^e Holy Spirit. Wee are Witnesses this day y^t this worke is finished, and in Finishinge, and God is Tabernacleinge in men, and the Gosple of peace is preached againe, and y^e uoice vttered in y^e holy city is, peace w^th God, good will towards all men. And Therfor this is our Testimony to all people; That y^e Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ is comne near in vs, and wee brought near in measure to god in it, being reconciled therin to God, walkinge in y^e light w^th him

[1] William Dewsbury (1621–1688) became a Quaker under the influence of George Fox's preaching. He wrote and published much between the years 1654 and 1686, and suffered imprisonment no less than nineteen years for the sake of his religion.

in vnity, where our fellowshipe one w^th^ another is, and the blood of Jesus Christ sprinkleth our consciences daily, and preserueth vs from dead works that wee serue our God (euen y^e^ Liueing god) in newness of life; And in this his peacable kingdom wee liue; where strife, enuy, prid, coueteousness are not; Fightings, killinge, blood sheed, murther w^th^ Carnall Weapons, rendering euill, for euill, are not; reuenge, robbinge for conscience sake, watching w^th^ guns or swords to kill y^e^ bodys of men tho' enimies. offendinge or defendinge w^th^ Carnall weapons of what sort soe euer to preserue at liberty body or estate, are not; for all these things are in y^e^ darkness, Satans Kingdome, w^ch^ already is past, and ended; And Humility, Charity, brotherly Kindness, peace and loue, are; Faith, hope, watching for the good of all, and good will toward all both frinds and enimies, are; Wisdom, and life eternall, w^th^ y^e^ peacable fruits of righteousness are, by all of us posest who walke in y^e^ Light, and are led by god's spirit in obedience to Christ Jesus our Lord and Kinge; In whom we haue belieued to y^e^ Saluation of our Soules, and by whom wee haue been keept and preserued cleane and liueing to God in many great tryalls Inwardly and outwardly, and through whose power we hope to be vpheld to y^e^ end Liueinge, and true wittnesses to y^e^ Life of Innocency (to the gosple And Kingdome of peace, and christ Jesus the Prince of Peace; but against y^e^ murtheringe hurtfull spirit, blood sheed, warrs outward, killinge men or women God's workemanshipe, Death, and him w^ch^ hath y^e^ power therof the Deuill) and in the end lye downe our heads w^th^ God enjoyinge y^e^ fullness of peace in his blessed presence for euer and euermore.

2ly. Our Testimony is, That this kingdome of Christ (who is our Lord and Saviour) is not of this world, for if; we his seruants could w^th^ carnall wepons fight; But tis of another world, where peace and righteousness dwells for euer more; Soe y^t^ wee his seruants cannot w^th^ Sword, gun, or any Carnall weapons fight, or make use thierof to hurt or kill y^e^ bodys of our enimies; or defend our bodys their w^th^ from our enimies, but in obedience to Christ our master keepe his comands (Loue enimies. Bless them y^t^ curs you. Put thy sword up into the Sheath. Doe good to them y^t^ hate you. Pray for them y^t^ despitefully vse you and persecute you) and waite in the faith w^ch^ Layes hould of eternall life to outliue all cruelty through sufferinge; That as wee are redeemed out of y^e^ kingdome and spirit of this world (where the Marriage of the Heauenly Image is, and the killinge or destroying of men and women his creatures) and made pertakers of righteousness and truth in the kingdome of God, we follow christ our Lord (who left us an example) and Drinke patiently y^t^ Cup w^ch^ God our father giueth us; and tho' the hearts of all people are in the hand of him in whom we haue belieued, who is both God and Christ; and that he can change them

as pleaseth him, wee know; yet wee say his will be done. And If he permitt y^e^ Heathen, and them w^ch^ feare not his name to come forth against us, and outwardly spoil us, yet w^th^ any carnall weapons wee may not them resist, nor put confidence in the arme of flesh; but in the faith and patience of our God stand in true loue to him and his workmanship; and w^th^ him, in his kingdome inwardly reigne, and perfect our Dominion ouer destruction and death through sufferinge; And soe be to y^e^ Honour of God, his way Truth, and name, that 's Holy and perfect for euer; To y^e^ encourageing of those y^t^ shall liue up hereafter to God in christ Jesus, and to y^e^ glory and renowne of y^t^ preuailing loue and power of God, w^ch^ compassed our spirits and bore vp our mindes ouer the Feare of Sufferinge or death, Through w^ch^ obteineinge y^t^ crowne of Immortall Life.

Lastly our Testimony is, Christ Jesus y^e^ Prince of Peace, is in this his kingdome, That 's not of this world, Ruleing ouer all y^e^ Children of peace, and Leads them in and out of the way of Peace, whear they worke y^e^ workes of God in Peace and receiue y^e^ rewards of peace; Dwellinge w^th^ him in his Peacable kingdome, and one w^th^ another in unity and Peace. And that who euer hath knowne Christ y^e^ True Light, and by faith receiued him y^e^ Prince of Peace in their hearts, and followed him and Dwelt w^th^ him in the Light y^e^ way and couenant of peace; Whear Prid, Enuy, Fightings, and warrs w^ch^ ariseth from y^e^ Lust, hath been subdued and ouercome; yet not w^th^standinge goe out into y^e^ darke Spirit of this world againe, and lust after y^e^ vse of Carnall weapons in the kingdome of Contention and Strife, (as gunns swords etc. to defend their owne or others bodys, liues, or estates, by threatninge to wound or kill, or by woundinge, or killinge y^e^ bodyes of their enimies) or make Lawes, or grant forth writtings, thereby to Rob, Spoil, or Imprison any, that out of conscience God wards cannot make vse of Carnall weapons, for their owne or others safety, but truly relyes by faith in Gods Promise, and Prayer to God in faith, for their owne and others Preseruation, through turninge the hearts of their enimies from such wickedness by his eternall Power: Or Justifie or Incourage, by word or practise, killinge, Bloodsheed, use of Carnall weapons to preserue Life by takeinge away life and warrs outward either offensiue or defensiue; or plead for or Liue in that faith w^ch^ stands in Carnall weapons, or the Arme of flesh, or the unrighteous liberty, wherein they wound their owne soules, and make sad many hearts which God maketh not sad, and pierce in themselves afresh y^e^ Righteous Life; Wee declare all such workes haue been and are against Christ y^e^ truth, his Kingdom of peace and people, out of the Light and way of Peace, wrought in darkness, and Brought forth in the world where wickedness abounds through y^e^ Lust of y^e^ flesh, the lust of the eye, and the Pride of life; and w^th^ the light wee see them condemnable by the Law of Righteous-

ness, and Judged by Christ our Lord y^e^ righteouse and impartiall Judge, and are by us denyed: And further signified to all People y^t^ christ y^e^ Prince of Peace, his Truth, name, kingdom, and Sanctuary, are cleare of all these workes, and all other what soeuer, w^ch^ arise out and from y^t^ darke kingdome and spirit of Antichrist; And wee his People disowne such practises and works, and condemns y^t^ Spirit w^ch^ hath or may lead there into, And in the peacable Truth we stand wittnesses for God, his Truth, name, kingdom, and Sanctuary, and hopes in Innocency and true love to be preserued towards all both friends and enimies, and in the Holy righteous euerblessed life shine forth more and more to Gods Eternall Prayse; who is ouer Heaven and Earth God blessed for euer more.

From our Mans Meeting (on Rhoad Island)
att Joshua Coggeshall's: y^e^ day aboue dated.[1]

Mr. FORD submitted a series of letters which passed between George Bancroft and Martin Van Buren:

The following correspondence is drawn from two sources, — the Library of Congress, for Bancroft's letters, and the Bancroft Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society, for Van Buren's letters. They form a complete series so far as can be obtained from those two collections. Their value lies in the picture they give of Massachusetts politics, the hopes and the agencies of the Democratic party, and in the free and hostile criticism of Webster, then at the height of his influence. Of interest, too, is the invitation to prepare a campaign life of Van Buren, which was passed on to Bancroft, and was actually in type in the summer of 1844, when the defeat of Van Buren in convention made its publication inexpedient. Forty-five years after, Bancroft published the work, which added nothing to his reputation as an historian, and was not as illuminative on his position as a politician as the letters now printed.

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

NORTHAMPTON, MASS., January 10, 1830

DEAR SIR, — The very limited degree in which I have been honored with opportunities of being known to you, would hardly justify me in requesting the benefit of an introduction to you for my friend and brother in law, Mr Dwight, were it not that I wished to ask your acceptance of a little tract, which I have written on the great question of

[1] From the Winthrop Papers, 17, fol. 16.

the U. S. Bank. The *three last* lines of the article, I pray you not to attribute to me. They were added by another without my consent or knowledge. The article was written last summer; but the N. A. Review [xxxii. 21] could not find room for it till now; and I preferred that very respectable journal for the medium of communicating with the public.

I did not fail to perceive the decision with which the Presidential Message in December still continued to view the subject. The U. S., it should seem, have no favors to bestow, no privileges to sell, no exclusive powers to confer. Nothing can be plainer, than that a bank of circulation was not intended by the constitution; nothing can be plainer, than that the present U. S. Bank corporation, acting under a charter that confers an exclusive privilege, and gives them the range of the whole country for their operations, possess advantages wholly at variance with the rights of all other capitalists, with the clearest dictates of justice, and with the rights to free competition, which ought to be held supremely sacred in a land of equal liberty.

I intend in the course of the summer to prepare a further argument in defence of the ground, generally taken by the Government in this question. It would be eminently gratifying to me, if what I have written should seem correctly argued.

Excuse the liberty I take in presenting to you Mr. Dwight. His connections, personal qualities, and prospects are such as may justify any friendly notice, you may be willing to show him. Very respectfully.

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS,
Nov. 17, 1834

DEAR SIR, — After having, for several years, been engaged in collecting materials, I ventured during the last summer to publish a first volume of a history of the United States, which has been so fortunate as to win for my undertaking the favorable wishes of the public. May I hope that you will find time to take a little interest in my pursuits? My object in addressing you at this time is, to request you would do me the favor to accept a copy of my work, and inform me to what place I may forward the volume for you.

The second volume which I am now preparing, will contain the early history of your native state. I find it so rich in singular incidents, so full of variety, so striking in its details, that I shall hope to gain the suffrages of the descendants of the pilgrims from Holland, and represent the vicissitudes of their fortunes under a form, which Knickerbocker himself must respect.

If the late newspapers of Massachusetts have fallen under your eye, I will not believe that your regard for me will be diminished by the

excessive invectives, which have been directed against me. During the late contest, though I was not myself before the public as a candidate for office, I have been attacked with unmeasured severity by the self-styled Whig papers. My crime consisted in refusing to calumniate the present administration, and in asserting to the people of Massachusetts, that the Whig party is making an insidious attempt to win political power through the influence of wealth and against the rights of the people. My attempt to awaken the spirit of democracy among the hills of our part of New England was not wholly unsuccessful.[1] The vote for a Democratic member of Congress in this district was more than doubled, was increased by more than a thousand votes. We border on Connecticut; and the courage displayed in our quarter descends the river, and is not without an effect in that state. With sentiments of the highest respect, yours.

Bancroft to Van Buren.

Springfield,[2] Massachusetts, Nov. 16, 1837.

My dear Sir, — The Democracy of Hampden has done well, though it has sustained a partial defeat. To the House we send twelve Democrats to eleven Whigs. The Senators we have lost by a small majority. The vote polled by our friends exceeded by about a thousand the vote polled in 1834. Under every difficulty we have this year increased two hundred and fifty in number. But the Panic, money, a hundred orators, champaign, and unexampled efforts gave the Whigs a still larger vote. Our vote was *2685* in this little county. *More than six hundred more than the vote in Boston.*

For me the result is fortunate. To have been alone in the Senate would have demanded of me a useless waste of life and strength.

I write for two purposes: one to express my belief that the Democratic party cannot within two years gain the ascendancy in

[1] Van Buren replied, December 10, 1834: "I have, as you suppose, observed the attacks which have been made upon you by the newspapers. This has ever been, and will be, the fate of every sincere friend of liberal principles who avows his sentiments with the freedom and sustains them with the ability that you have done. But you have this to console you, that the people are just, intelligent and firm; and that our political annals are not yet stained with a single instance in which the people have without cause abandoned a sincere friend or a faithful public servant."

Again, on August 17, 1836, Van Buren wrote: "I beg you to accept my unfeigned thanks for your goodness in sending me a copy of your oration. I think it better than any thing I have ever before seen upon the subject. If your Yankee brethren are proof against such assaults, they are unteachable, and doomed to the darkness of blindness forever. But I have no such apprehensions." The oration was delivered July 4, before the Democracy of Springfield. A copy is in the Society's collection.

[2] He had removed to Springfield in 1834.

Massachusetts. I had hoped that it would. If the rest of the State stood like Hampden, we could do it next year. But the rout on the seaboard has been complete. The other point is, to renew my expression of confidence in the Message. Had you identified yourself nationally with the pet-bank system, I believe the overthrow in the nation would have resembled the defeat in New York. As it is, truth and honor are with us at any rate, and if a majority compels a retreat upon a system of special deposits, it will have to bear the responsibility of it.

I have an unshaken conviction, that your administration will be triumphantly sustained. The Whigs cannot bear success: they will inevitably divide, so soon as their hopes and passions are excited. Besides: there will be a clear majority against them all. Were it otherwise, as a supporter of the administration, I have that confidence in its course, that my mind is perfectly at ease, and in the darkest moment I shall be proud to be counted amongst its unfaltering friends. With highest respect and regards.

I took the liberty to ask Judge [Marcus] Morton to write you on Massachusetts politics, confident you would excuse me for doing it.

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas this Committee are informed that George Bancroft, Esquire, has been appointed by the President, collector of the Port of Boston and Charlestown;

Resolved, that the Selection of Mr. Bancroft by the President for the high and responsible office of Collector of this Port, meets our cordial approbation: being confident that he will perform the duties appertaining to that office in a manner that will reflect honor upon himself, and prove, in all respects, satisfactory to the Government and the Public.

Resolved, that this Committee entertain the most sincere respect and consideration for the Political and Personal Character of Mr. Bancroft, whose eminent ability, boldness and integrity, have secured for him an enduring reputation, and justly entitle him to the distinguished regard of the National Executive.

Resolved, that the Secretary be directed to communicate to the President a copy of these resolutions, and also a copy to Mr. Bancroft, and to assure the latter gentleman, that this Committee, collectively and individually, are singularily (*sic*) gratified by his appointment, and bid him a cordial welcome as a fellow citizen of Boston.

In Suffolk democratic County Committee, Boston, January 15, 1838. The foregoing resolutions were offered by the Secretary, and unanimously passed.

SETH J. THOMAS, *Secretary.* PETER DUNBAR, *Chairman.*

Bancroft to Van Buren.

Boston, March 26, 1839.

My dear Sir, — In the English "Eclectic Review" for last February, published in London, I find a passage so explicit on the subject of the North Eastern Boundary, that I thought it worth copying to send you. The whole article from which it is extracted, breathes the most friendly spirit towards us.

Every body here is fully impressed with a right sense of the dignity and calmness of the administration at this time. If you succeed in bringing England to a sense of justice and succeed also in the great measure of the Independence of the Treasury, you will have done what was never done before, have gained a victory over the pride of Great Britain, and a victory over the, hitherto, invincible city trainbands. The meaning of both is deeper than it seems.

Perhaps it is worth adding, that *Ebeling*, a German, and author of the best Geography of the Northern United States, asserts distinctly, that "the highlands" of the treaty are to be sought north of the St. John's; and adds that our right to the region to which he minutely refers, *is undoubted*. Ebeling is an author of that high character for good judgment and accurate investigation, that his name is worth citing among other early expositions. His opinion would sway public opinion in Germany, and might be worthy of a place even in a diplomatic paper. With highest respect, ever very truly yours.

Van Buren to Bancroft.

Washington, March 18, 1840.

My dear Sir, — I return you many thanks for the copies of your very able address at Hartford, and for the encouragement you hold out for Connecticut. We may not quite succeed, but an improvement will be highly beneficial. The accounts we receive from every part of the Union are truly flattering, and leave us without apprehension. To no quarter of the Union is the public attention turned with more interest than to yours. So much has been done, I may say unexpectedly done, and by means so gratifying to the patriot and so honourable to the Democracy that there is an intense and all prevailing solicitude for your complete success. I confess to you that I believe in it, although such is not the prevailing sentiment. I sent you a copy of the message, which was I believe on board of the ill-fated Lexington.

The enclosed note from Mr. Petrikin, a straight forward, hard headed, and uncompromising Democratic member from Penn. may amuse you. Let me hear from you as often as is convenient, and believe me to be &c.

[Enclosure.] HOUSE OF REPS.
19 March, 1840.

David Petrikin returns to the President the address of George Bancroft Esq. with D. P.'s thanks for the loan. Although Mr. Bancroft is correct as to his general premiss and doctrine, yet D. P. thinks that he has in the warmth of his enthusiasm forgotten that the "fraction of wealth" now rules direct or indirectly almost every State in the Union, witness Mississippi and Penn^a. and D. P. fears that the same fraction of wealth has a preponderating influence in the U. S. Congress at its present session.

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, November 2, 1840

MY DEAR SIR, — Since I left Washington, I have not till yesterday known one moments leisure. Convinced that the financial policy you have introduced is right in theory and wise as a practical measure, I have taken to myself the right belonging to me as a native of Massachusetts to exercise every freedom I inherit, every power I have received of God, in vindicating what seems to me the cause of humanity. In midsummer I proposed to my friends here, that I should resign the commission which I hold from you. They unanimously opposed it. To offer a resignation which was not to have been insisted upon, appeared to me not proper; because of a regard for the fidelity with which I have administered my office, had induced you to have preferred my continuance in office, it would have involved you in my decision. I thought it better not to trouble.

Were it *only impossible* to carry Massachusetts we would do it. Our party has conducted admirably: the contest has been earnest: and we have met them at every point. In our counties in the aggregate, excepting Middlesex and Worcester, we shall do well. In those two we shall lose. The test vote here is, by the nature of the contest, on the vote for Governor: and I retain the opinion which I expressed in Washington, that neither party will have a large majority. I do not like to think, still less to write, that there may be a majority against us of two thousand. Our opponents count on ten thousand, and they are doomed to disappointment. As compared with the elections of 1836, Massachusetts will do better than any state north of Potomac.

Our accounts from Maine authorize confidence, that the result there today is entirely safe. Every thing has been done, that could have been, and I believe with success.

I cannot help believing that this Presidential contest will end like the Bunker Hill Procession here, which began its course exultingly in the sunshine, and was just at the last moment, scattered by the worst South East flash ever known. It turns on New York. Now I have ever believed, that on the naked question of the Presidential election, our

opponents have never any year been able to command the vote against you. Mixed questions have given them their temporary success. The public mind in New York was confused, in part by the fault of friends.

For your own permanent reputation a defeat would be no disaster. A want of success would at this moment be more surprising than success, and would fix the attention of the world upon the result with an intentness, that would not rest satisfied with any thing less than a full solution of the mystery. But I still believe you are not destined to that highest glory of doing right and suffering for it eminently. I still believe, that in the great procession of states today, the great majority will be glorious company, vindicate the honesty of commercial contracts, the purity of the ballot box, and the independence of the Government.

The course of Mr. Webster has been singularly reckless. He returned from England wretchedly poor, although he made in England *judicious sales of Western Lands*. This I know from a private and authentic source. And from the Barings he received not £1000 merely, but four times that sum, nearly $20,000. This was, however, likewise told me privately, but from an authentic source. Coming home here, after Congress, he was imploring Bank discounts: in utter wretchedness, he declared he had not a friend to look to for pecuniary aid. Then rousing himself, he made a headlong and desperate plunge into the midst of the brawl and strife of politics, and has stopped at nothing. But here, in Massachusetts, he has accomplished nothing; has not swayed a vote. If we are defeated, it will come from other causes, of which he has been perforce increasing the efficacy. He is like a desponding gamester, who sets his all on one throw. When he has lost, I think he will find the fruit at which he has clutched, turn to bitterness and ashes.

For myself, after a half year's labor greater than I ever endured, I find my health admirable. The activity has been happiness, for my mind was at peace; and he that is in harmony with himself, can endure all fatigue. I have grown strong under it, in physical force and in self-reliance.

After our elections I shall hope an opportunity of writing again; confiding in the over ruling Providence of God, that our liberties are not endangered and subverted; but that the people will triumph over fraud, as in past time they have triumphed over the monied interest. The contest is a glorious one. From the close sympathy of all civilized nations, it is emphatically not a national struggle only, but a struggle of the concentrated power of the business classes of the world, against the freedom and happiness of the whole people. I thank God he has given me courage to do what seemed my duty without fear of consequences; and I look forward to the decision, anxious for the country and the cause of popular power. In any event your own fame is safe. With affectionate respect.

VAN BUREN TO BANCROFT.

[November 20, 1840.]

MY DEAR SIR, — Your most acceptable letter comes this morning to gratify me certainly, but I regret to be obliged to add, to reproach me also for not having before this acknowledged a former favor, of equal value. I wish I had time to write you a long letter, but I have not. Will you be content with my saying, and I do so with perfect sincerity, that the feelings you have expressed in regard to recent events are precisely those which spontaneously arose, and have found an abiding place in my own breast. If the Whigs expect to make me unhappy by the success of their fraudulent practices, or even to put me to the trouble of complaining about them, they are destined to a total disappointment. That they have thought my removal from the Government of sufficient importance to justify the commission of so great a crime as the defrauding of a nation of its free choice, and to hazard the remorse which must follow it, as certainly as the night follows the day, is a compliment to my political principles, of infinitely greater value to me, than the spoils of victory can possibly be to them.

Be assured, my dear Sir, that my feelings and views under the result are precisely those which intelligent and patriotic friends like yourself would desire that they should be.

I amuse myself with reflecting on the complacency with which you cannot but regard the anxiety of your enemies for your removal, and the parade they design to make about it. I am sure your only apprehension is, that [they] will fail in making the act as conspicuous as they threaten to do.

I see that neither you nor our friends generally do yet embrace fully the means by which the election has been carried against them. Be assured that the effect produced upon the democracy, either by the condition of the times, or the misrepresentations of the adversary, have not been as great as is generally supposed. The means were of a more certain character, and will one day be as fully understood and appreciated, as the elections of 1838 in N. York, and in Ingersoll's District [1] are now. All that was necessary to make a system used with success in a ward or city applicable to the Union was money, men and time. . . .

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, December 3, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR, — As early in the next year as I can arrange my affairs, it is necessary for me to embark for Europe. I am, therefore, compelled to resign my commission as collector of the Customs. I

[1] In Philadelphia.

shall be in Washington before the 20th; when, if it should seem to you desirable, I will explain all that I know as to the fittest manner of filling the vacancy. Meantime it is perhaps best, that my purpose should not be generally known: in a few days I will address an official letter to the Secretary of the Treasury.

The course which I adopt is sanctioned by those of my political friends whom you would wish me to consult. They at first doubted: but on hearing my reasons, not only assent but applaud. They think a short absence would be well in every respect: My great reason lies in the obligation I am under to consult the archives of England and France. To this end I shall hope your aid; at Paris I shall do well enough; for there, brother historians and men with whom I have some relation, are in power; as passports to England I may be obliged to trespass on your goodness for a few letters.

As far as the last political campaign is concerned, my mind is entirely at peace. I thank God I did all I could to prevent the issue, so disastrous to the country. "The sober second thought" of the people will yet be heard.

We all look with intensest interest for the Message. It will be the common manifesto to our own people and to the world. Your position is a noble one: if the Sub-Treasury is maintained, it stands the monument of victory in the greatest political struggle ever held; if it should be repealed, its repeal will be followed by a flood of calamities, which will render a just verdict of the people absolutely certain. If it be repealed and if the small note system shall prevail generally, our banking system will work its own total overthrow and defeat.

You will be glad to know, that in the midst of party virulence, the success of my book is very great: and I have a sort of pride in it too, for I have not courted favor. In this third volume, there is not a note or a preface; for I would not pay tributes to contemporary merit among my brother men of letters, as some do; lest I should seem to entreat forbearance. I seek no compromise with malice. With affectionate respect.

Bancroft to Van Buren.

Boston, Feb. 23, 1841.

My dear Sir, — I have a great favor to ask of you. Our opponents intend to dismiss me from office forthwith; to which I make no objection. They will say, it is because I am a scholar and as such unsuited for the place.

The treasury officers can tell you, that while my predecessors have left in the office bonds in suit and unpaid to the amount of about $400,000, there is not one single bond taken by me in suit; *not one.* I have collected over ten millions of revenue, and without any loss to the

government except of $2100, remitted by Mr. Woodbury as he had power to do. I shall not hand over to my successor, one single bad bond, nor is there one bond of my taking in suit. Such a result is unheard of in this port, or in any other of a large size. It never occurred before to any collector here.

I beg you further to inquire as to the *promptness* with which I render my accounts. I am not content you should learn that I have rendered them promptly: I wish it known to you, that I have rendered them with unprecedented promptness, have myself introduced improvements in this branch, and that by the nature of the case, the promptness I have shown cannot be exceeded.

I beg you further to ask, if I have kept my accounts satisfactorily. I wish the fact to appear, that between me and the accompanying officers there is not a six pence in dispute.

I beg you further to ask: if I have attended to instructions promptly and exactly; so as to assure the increasing confidence of the department.

The light houses in my district are in excellent order and greatly improved in [*illegible*] by the particular attention I have given them.

Having been assured of these facts, I will beg of you to address me a letter officially, or to direct the Secretary to do so for you, repeating these matters one by one; and expressing your satisfaction, if you feel it, in the effective success with which I have conducted the affairs you entrusted to me. This I need, and I hope you will think it right for me to have it.

To that end I have this day sent you an official request or rather opened an avenue through the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mrs. Bancroft joins me in every wish for your welfare and happiness. I am ever faithfully, with highest respect and regard.

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, June 17, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR, — The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen is busily engaged in proving New England to have been colonized eight centuries ago by men from Iceland. To this end, they have turned the scratches made by our Indians upon a rock at Dighton, into a first rate Runic description. Near Newport, R. I. there are the remains of an old stone wind-mill, afterwards used as a hay-magazine; (for so the antiquarians dignify a barn). This old stone windmill is now found to have a very decided Runic Character, and the parcel I forward, does, I suppose, give a picture of it, and demonstrate its surprising resemblance to Westerwik Church and the Crypt in Wiborg. Humbugs are in vogue, both in politics and in letters.

Mrs. Bancroft is much obliged by your kind remembrances and desires her best regards. I am plodding on very quietly; but am by no means an indifferent spectator of passing events. With affectionate respect, faithfully yours.

Bancroft to Van Buren.

Boston, Feb. 21, 1842

My dear Sir, — I received with greatest pleasure your favor that came to me yesterday. You do me no more than justice in putting trust in the sincerity of my regard.

I enclose the document[1] as you desired: yet uncertain, if it do not find you already on the wing. Wishing you all happiness and honor, Faithfully yours.

Webster will not resign, I think. He may be driven from the Cabinet: he will not go of himself. Tyler wished him to go last summer. I hope the world is convinced of his chastity, now that he has made oath to it before a justice of the peace. All English annals show nothing so humiliating. Webster will brave everything to remain in the Cabinet. At least, so I reason. I mean I think, he will brave Clay, rather than quit the Cabinet. Besides other motives, he loves office. Having been without it all his life, he has a fondness for it, of which you can have no conception.

Bancroft to Van Buren.

Boston, Sept. 28, 1842.

Dear Sir, — I cannot forego any longer my right of expressing to you the greatest satisfaction, we, under my roof, derive from the frequent accounts we get of your health and happiness. I followed

[1] "Irish repeal letter" is Van Buren's endorsement. In January, 1842, Van Buren had sent to Bancroft a letter from Messrs. Clinton and Murphy, describing themselves as Editors of the New England Reporter and Catholic Diary, and asking his opinion on the Irish repeal question. Of Webster, Van Buren had written:

"The circumstance to which you have alluded is very discreditable to Mr. Webster. What must foreigners think of the integrity of our public men when they find them so lost to all proper delicacy? What confidence can the American people have in negotiations carried on with Lord Ashburton under such circumstances? My belief (without having any information on the subject) is that Mr. Clay's friends are pickling a rod for Mr. W., the application of which he will avoid by leaving the Cabinet. I know the strong inducements he has to hold on, but his fears will predominate. See if I am not right. The opposition of Mr. Clay in the Senate to the *present* passage of the resolution calling for the proceedings, etc. of the Custom House Commissioners, after a similar Resolution had been introduced into the House by one of his own friends, together with my knowledge of the character and disposition of the parties are the principal grounds of my inference."

you with my mind's eye in all your journey,[1] and was delighted with the bursts of hospitality that broke upon you every where, and equally with the rare felicity of expression with which you received them. The summer has been a period of more intrigue in politics than I remember ever to have known; and autumn, as it comes, is fast showing the futility of it all. For a moment the friends of Mr. Calhoun nourished the hope of finding some countenance for his pretensions in New England; but Father Niles[2] was on guard in Connecticut, and kept the frontier. Here for a season there was a little attempt from a man of restless ambition to gain some foothold: lately too, from another quarter intimations came of the promised favors of Mr. Tyler, if one of our papers could be purchased. This too was easily set aside. The real purpose and hope were, by creating a division in Boston to act upon New Hampshire and Maine. Some even, whose debt of gratitude and forbearance should have bound them to you indissolubly, were for a season lukewarm and silent. The effect was opposite to their design. It roused your friends to action; and while we, the Massachusetts Democracy, a poor minority as yet, have as a party but one opinion, I am glad to be able to believe, that in no state of the union are the people more firmly attached to you than in the very state of Maine, to which those less friendly to you had been looking. I now believe that New England will appear in convention with but one opinion. Mr. Calhoun, whose gigantic abilities I revere, but whose democracy I doubt, has friends alert enough among the few: the people do not know him. With all efforts that may be made he will every hour henceforward, grow weak before the people.

Boston is on tiptoe to hear Mr. Webster next Friday.[3] He came home undecided. His keeping his own counsel means merely, that he was beset by conflicting motives. The unwonted display on his part of a will of his own is an apparent display only. Opposite motives beset him; but I think in his speech he will *omit* to sustain Clay, will sustain Davis not very heartily, will glorify himself very much on the treaty, will treat Tyler respectfully, and will *not* resign.[4] To the last course, that is, to retaining his place in the cabinet, he is driven by his ambi-

[1] To the West and South.

[2] John M. Niles, of Hartford, Connecticut.

[3] At Faneuil Hall, September 30. The address is in his "Works," ii. 109.

[4] In his reply, dated October 9, Van Buren said: "There was but one mistake in your anticipations of the character of Mr. W's speech, and that I expected. I do not believe that he and D. have been sincere friends for ten years, in consequence of an anticipation on his part, that he [D.] would at some time be used by Mr. Clay to prostrate him [W.]. The speech has disappointed me, and if the author stands his ground, that is, if he does not take office out of the country, and out of the present reach of his rival, it cannot fail to place his character upon a better foundation than it has hitherto occupied."

tion and his necessities. First his ambition. He still nourishes the hope of being President, esteems himself the fittest man for the station, and believes that a middling party will yet drive Clay from the field, and bring the Whig party under his banners. Strange delusion: when even his own state dreams of no such futurity! But the delusion exists Then his necessities leave him not a free agent. He has a house and furniture in Washington; his son and kindred in office; himself with a salary. The manufacturers no longer accept his drafts: the other day one was dishonored: his professional career is ended. Wretched poverty with a great name is hard to be looked in the face, especially when accompanied with disappointed ambition. Hence he does not so much dare, as is rather compelled to face and oppose the extreme right of the Whig party.

It is an ill wind that blows no good! Webster's course impedes the movements of the Whigs of Massachusetts: their hurrahs die away without an echo. Our party had the other day the greatest convention ever known by the Democracy. The convention carefully shunned all nominations except for the State; but to show its wish, insisted I should take the helm at the head of the State committee, now most efficiently organized. This puts within my view the feelings of the people; and I never knew an election open so favorably. I will not say we shall elect Morton; but, unless affairs change their aspect, we may elect him, or their may be no choice. At any rate, it will show the Union, that Mr. Clay's name gives no new confidence or strength to the Whigs of Massachusetts.

But it is the election in New York which is to be the star of promise, beaming over the clouds.

During the summer we were charmed with the opportunity of seeing one of your sons with his bride; and had hoped Nahant would have attracted them again. I held myself fortunate, also, in seeing them again at Albany, and in seeing though but for a few moments, the family of Mr. J. V. B.[1] Ever with affectionate respect.

The treaty is not generally unpopular here; in Maine it is unpopular. The British, as I know, are astonished at the extent of Lord Ashburton's success. The threats of war were ridiculous: England intended to get her road if she could, but in every event to shun a rupture.

Van Buren to Bancroft.

Lindenwald, Nov. 21, 1842.

My dear Sir, — I must congratulate, most sincerely and cordially, on the brilliant triumph of the Democracy in the old Bay State. "Mr.

[1] John Van Buren.

Butler's Presbyterians,"[1] as you once called them, begin to give way, and its time they did. They would have lost their character with mankind for sagacity and strong common sense, hitherto so distinguished, if they were to suffer themselves to be humbugged much longer by the fooleries with which the Whigs have for the last few years, sought to retain their confidence. You may not acquire the actual power of the State this year, although your chances for that are not bad, but you have secured what you cannot lose in the coming election, an expression which marks your party as the true representative, moral and political, of old Massachusetts. . . .

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, Nov. 23, 1842.

DEAR SIR,— I enclose on the instant the letters of Throop and Davis. I do not give full credit to the statements made by Davis: he seems to me to have a tinge of jealousy, such as I have seen a good deal of.

Some weeks ago I got a long message from Cass through Niles of Sardinian memory. The substance was the most extravagant exaggeration of my influence: what infinite advantage to me to have Cass for my friend; and accordingly he proposed to me to take upon myself the preparation of a grand reception. I have mentioned this to no one, but now to you. I threw out a word about Cass to Davezac.[2] This communication from Niles was addressed to a very firm personal friend of mine, and was plainly written at Cass's suggestion or with his knowledge. My mind was instantly made up. I have often given my friends a letter of introduction to him; I owe him courtesies; I shall call upon him; perhaps invite him to dine privately at my own house. But no more. If he has censured the treaty, he has damned himself in the beginning; for here *his friends are the Webster Whigs.* They have long been teazing us here to say something in praise of Cass. Of the Whigs here, many have long had their eye on Cass. He can be no more than the Federal candidate; and that Clay and Scott and perhaps Webster will forbid. With the Democracy he will find no favor.

I do not believe Pennsylvania is as Davis says. The politicians are, the people, I am sure, are with you. Our Massachusetts election has had and will have good results. It consolidates New England. I took Woodbury[3] into my house as my guest, made for him the best possible opportunity for a public speech, and talked with him in private with real friendship and with openness. He saw the force of what I said to

[1] A phrase, probably, of Benjamin F. Butler, of New York.

[2] A. Davezac, a political protégé of Jackson.

[3] Levi Woodbury, like Cass, was seeking a nomination for the Presidency, and had now fallen under the suspicion of the true, or Van Buren Democracy.

him. He loves himself most: he despises Cass: and I believe he and N. H. and Maine, in due time, will have one voice with Mass. and Connecticut. I have no fears. The more candidates, the more certainly the party will concentrate on you.

We did a world of work in Massachusetts. Davezac did well at our small meetings: but broke down at Faneuil Hall. Woodbury was unexceptionably [thoughtful] [1] of us in this State, spoke every night. We are unremitting in our efforts for next Monday, and the *chance is with us*. Well I have written so; but though I say so to you, I dare not yet confess it to myself. What a scene would it be in Massachusetts! A governor addressing a Democratic Legislature! I dare not think of it: I hope to see it.

I send this hasty scrawl, because I think its enclosures should be out of your hands as short a time as possible. With affectionate respect.

Bancroft to Van Buren.

Boston, Dec. 9, 1842.

My dear Sir, — We have, indeed, achieved the impossible. The Senate at its organization will be sixteen to ten; the house, if law and justice are heeded, nay if they are disregarded by our opponents, will be one hundred and seventy-seven Democrats to one hundred and seventy-five Whigs. I do not know why we may not expect as many Whigs to break their legs or be buried up in snow storms, as of our friends: yet out of so great a number, so nicely balanced, the choice of Speaker will be affected by accidents; and I dare not predict the result. On joint ballot, we have an undenied majority, and this must give us the Senate, Council, and Governor. Instead of being arrogant and elated, all persons of our party seem aware of the responsibility of their position, with a powerful enemy in front, and an increasing party in the flank. If Gov. Morton should, as I anticipate, be elected, I believe his course will be marked by a prudence that will confirm his old friends and win new ones. He cannot fail of being Governor, if no fraud is used.

Gen. Cass left us this afternoon. His visit, as far as Presidential ambition is concerned, was a failure. He denounced Webster roundly and thus alienated the only friends here he had. An invitation was given him, (to which neither Gov. Morton nor I set our names, but which was headed by a leading Whig and David Henshaw, followed by alternate layers of Whigs and D.) to address the people in Faneuil Hall. This he wisely declined. A message had come to me from Paris, that I cannot but believe was with his knowledge, urging a famous reception by the Democracy of Boston, and new hints by this

[1] A word torn out by the seal.

steamer: but none knew of it beyond me, and nothing was done. To Gov. Morton and Me the General read his correspondence with Webster. In it he denounces Webster's treaty in the most explicit manner, and describes it by inference as failing in preserving the rights and honor of the country. The right of search is the hobby of Gen. Cass: he thinks the treaty neglects that right: he avows his resignation to have been made on the day he received the treaty: the correspondence and documents connected with it, under instructions, coldly, and with no word of his own, communicated to Guizot: and to Webster he sent (under date of Oct. 3, 1842) a letter which makes between the two an inseparable gulf. That letter when called out by Congress and published, will alienate Cass entirely from the Anti-Clay Whigs. It is full of the severest insinuations, and the most open inferences of dereliction on Webster's part to his duty as a statesman. He picks a quarrel with Webster most decidedly. I liked the letter, and thought it just: though indelicate.

On the whole, I am confident Gen. Cass can have no party. Here the few who were ready to hail his coming, are chilled through. He goes to Detroit, and not to Cincinnati, as the newspapers had it. Henceforth he hails from Michigan.

May I add one word on R. M. Johnson. It is my deep conviction, that he has done you more harm than any score of Whigs in the land. I trust most earnestly, he never again may find his name by the side of yours. He has no fixed opinions; and he has not mind enough to form fixed opinions. There is a pervading sentiment against him in New England. He has no strength any where. I hope, he will be left "alone in his glory." The people never chose him Vice President, and, as I believe, never will.[1]

I do not mean to say, that the vote of Massachusetts can be relied upon for the Democracy in 1844. But there is a possibility of our success. In 1840 there was no state in the Union, where the Democracy exerted themselves more. We are reaping the fruits now, and shall not fail to make our plan of action seasonably. With affectionate respect, faithfully yours.

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, January 12, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, — Great doings to-day in the Bay State! The vacancies in the Senate are filled with democrats. On joint ballot, we

[1] It was the opposition within the party to placing Johnson again on the ticket for the Vice-Presidency that brought Polk into prominence, and placed him in a position to snatch the Presidency from Van Buren in 1844. Jackson favored Polk, and the leading competitors were Johnson and William R. King of Alabama. The latter was given a foreign appointment before the question came to a hazard.

had just one majority over whigs and abolitionists united. Fine times we have been having, I assure you; and frequent doses of *sal volatile* administered. But our friends, in the midst of very great difficulties, and very many menaces, have moved on to victory. We lost the house for a time by a man claiming to be a member, and having no right whatever to a seat, yet kept there by the Whigs. You will hear of Morton's election in a day or two; and we shall make a strong effort to retain and enlarge our ascendancy in the Commonwealth.

I have been travelling: have seen many. The substance is, a deeply settled conviction that the choice of the Democratic Convention will in any event and with great unanimity be for you. The struggle will be a severe one not within our own party; but against the efforts of the Whigs: they will try every scheme of division, hypocrisy and open hostility: but success is certain. Dallas is not for Cass: he is quietly in favor of the convention and its nominee, expressing no preferences. The Cass Party in Pennsylvania is indeed the Porter party; office-holders, men of no weight of character or deeply seated influence. Buchanan has great and effective power: their men nothing but the present patronage of the State. In Maryland I was glad to find you have a strong friend in Governor *Thomas*. All with [exception of [1]] Maryland, reject the idea of nominating Mr. Calhoun: in Maryland he has friends: but the mass is in harmony with our northern preference. In Baltimore, as in Philadelphia, the personal attachment to you is decided. I think, but *I do not know*, that Buchanan has a tender regard for Mr. Calhoun. With the people of Pennsylvania, Calhoun has no strength whatever. In Connecticut I found but one opinion: and I believe their legislature as it meets, will make a nomination of you. Indeed, New England will hear of no name at this time but yours. Your opponents were all seeking to delay the convention: at first I feared treachery: but the feeling is so strong in favor of union, that division is not likely to ensue; and delay can accomplish no great harm. The main thing is, to fix the place and time for the convention seasonably.

I suppose you are aware, that a part of our Boston Whigs made approaches to Cass: that disgusted them, for Cass repelled them, they are now favoring Mr. Calhoun. Our manufacturers say, that as President of the U. S. he would view things differently from what he does as Senator of S. Carolina. In case of disappointment in that quarter, some of them are already planning treason against Clay, and wish to adopt McLean of Ohio as the Whig candidate. All these uncertainties of policy favor us. Yet here we hope, Clay will remain the standard-bearer of the Whigs. He cannot get the vote of Massachusetts.

[1] Words omitted.

Gilpin[1] of course I saw often: honest, open and true: enjoying in Philadelphia merited esteem. With affectionate respect.

P. S. 5 o'clock. Our ballotings are over. The Whigs insisted on counting the votes many times over: but the inflexible majority of one remained. To the sixteen vacancies we elected fifteen democrats to one whig. This gives us forthwith in the Senate twenty nine to eleven. In the house we shall drive out the members with a false certificate, and gain the majority there also. Our friends, instead of indulging in exultations, feel the responsibility of their position, and are resolved on showing the country, that we are competent to conduct the government. Our success has been marvellous. We have, really as I wrote you last year, if honesty had been respected, a bare majority in the house. This year 1843 sees Massachusetts with a Democratic governor, council and legislature. Among the Whigs Millerites abound.

Mrs. Bancroft desires her best regards to you.

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, Feb. 16, 1843.

DEAR SIR, — The invitation was, as you rightly suppose, for your son; his presence was desired as an indication of personal respect for him, and we wished to see him as in some sort a representative of yourself. Our feeling here is as nearly unanimous, as it well can be. The committee selected me to read your letter; which I introduced with a speech of half an hour. I wish your son could have witnessed the profound attention and loud applause, with which they heard me trace the principles to which we rally through the career of Jackson, of Benton, and your own administration. I did all I could, and at the particular wish of Governor Morton and our friends, to show the true political preferences of our democracy: and I never spoke to more acceptance. It seemed as if I were uttering the sentiments of the whole crowd. There was as much harmony of response as possible.

There are but two or three dissenters among us. Henshaw[2] leads them, but with no success. His old friendship with the editor of the Morning Post[3] enables him to publish now and then a communication there; but the party generally maintain that there never was so little room for division on the subject of the Presidential candidate. Calhoun's people are all the time writing letters to Connecticut and here, but without effect.

Our congressional elections have not gone off ill: still our position, I mean in Massachusetts, is a precarious one. I say this not as desponding: but because I would not boast of what I cannot fully rely on.

[1] Henry D. Gilpin.
[2] David Henshaw.
[3] Charles Gordon Greene.

Nothing seems to augur success to our opponents: parties are so balanced, we shall exert ourselves in the cheering hope of success. Certainly the public sentiment has changed marvellously; but we are not yet like Maine and New Hampshire.

Your letter did not reach me till after the Festival, so that it was too late to write to Mr. Burke.[1] He would have been most heartily welcome. Faithfully and with affectionate respect yours.

Van Buren to Bancroft.

Confidential. Albany, March 19, 1843.

My dear Sir, — If I have not thanked you for your kind communication, and the stand you took in the matters to which they relate, it has been because I know that you required no such expression to satisfy you that they were properly appreciated. Our friends here are, I understand, about to move in the matter. There is, as far as I hear, not the slightest spark of discord amongst them. Mr. Wright has been here, and communicated freely with them. They will, I imagine, go with Virginia, in respect to time, place, and an entire vote by the State in the National Convention. If so, they will think it best to select their delegates in the old way, by a State Convention, to be chosen, for that sole purpose, by the people. I should have liked to gratify Mr. Calhoun's friends by choosing them by Districts, but Mr. Wright was very decided, and very impressive upon the subject; bringing with him the feelings of our friends at Washington. He says you should vote in Convention by states, because we all vote so at the election, the Gen'l Ticket being established in every State. If you vote by States at Baltimore, it is an unavailing concession to choose national delegates by Districts, because the different Districts will have the same weight in the state Convention. In the one case they would select one out of 36 to say how the vote of the state should be given; in the other, if each Congressional [district] has, say, 3 or any other number of Delegates in the State Convention, each District so represented will [have] 3 votes out of *three times* 36. Neither he nor any of our friends have the slightest apprehension of an adverse result in a single district in this State, and they are confident that they would gain in other States by the District system; but what they fear is, spurious representation from the Districts, and the consequent disorganization and discredit of the National Convention. They are confident that the Tilermen, if others do not, will get up minority representation in the Districts for Delegates, and then call upon the Delegates from remote states to decide between them and those who honestly represent the majority. This they think would be, and may be effected by the employment of

[1] Edmund Burke, of New Hampshire.

Whigs, who can unfortunately be used for almost any purpose. At a State Convention our friends are confident the marplots would not venture to show themselves.[1]

I enclose you rather a singular Document. The writer, a member of the last Congress, is a very *smart* man, who from his former connection with the Post office Department gained the nick-name of "Extra Billy."[2] He has been offended with Mr. Ritchie and our friends at Richmond, on account of the District they have made for him, but seems to have gotten over that. He has passed for a Calhoun man through the winter, but saw my son the Major at Washington at the close of the session and sought an opportunity to define his position to him, which after all amounted to this: that he had not taken ground in favor of Mr. Calhoun or any body else, and did not mean to do so for the present; and with all he is understood to leave yet many unsettled affairs with the P. o. Department.

It is quite clear that his views are not friendly, but it is not as easy to divine what his precise object is in writing us such a letter. As Mr. Tyler is the only one (of the candidates spoken of) who has had to commit himself upon the subject referred to, it would seem best intended for his service; but Mr. Smith claims not to belong to the Guard to any extent. I write him by this mail simply, that I have received his letter and shall reply to it in season for the purposes indicated without saying when. In my answer, I propose from a hasty and very imperfect consideration of the subject, to regard the 3d and 6th interrogatories as the only portions of his letter which are entitled to specific answers; to treat the others as virtual abstractions, and any how as points of such vital delicacy as to preclude the propriety of any man committing himself in advance in respect to the occasion on which he will or will not use the military power of the Federal Government against the States.

He should always, on a point of such vital importance, be in a state to avail himself to the last moment of the lights of reason, etc. As to the spirit in which I would exercise or decline to exercise this delicate power I propose to refer him to my conduct in the Penn. affair when called upon by Ritner.[3] If I am to examine all the constitutions of the old 13 States, I must search at the call of another, do the same with these of the new 13, and give my motives at large as to what does and what does not constitute a Republican State &c.

In respect to 3d interrogatory I propose to say, that when the con-

[1] An echo of the debate on apportionment under the census of 1840. See Stanwood, "Apportionment and State Rights in 1842," p. 176, in this volume.

[2] William Smith, of Virginia, who earned the name by his demanding extra compensation for service of his mail coaches.

[3] Joseph Ritner.

stitution of the state contains within itself a mode of amendment prescribed by the people themselves, that must be followed. Besides that there is no remedy for defects or abuse of power save that of a forcible Revolution, when the abuses become intolerable. In case there is no such provision I propose to lay down what I consider the true rule in regard to the power of the people — free people — to make such a change, and the mode and its effects. It is possible that the slave matter is intended to be reached and odium and alarm created by this enquiry. In respect to the 6th interrogatory, I propose to denounce in proper terms the provision of the existing Constitution in regard to foreigners. As this is in itself and in all its bearings a delicate subject, and particularly at the south, I desire to be very particular and careful in respect to it. To this end I propose to tax your friendly services, by asking you to send me at Kinderhook such public notices as have appeared in respect to it, the perusal of which will you think be useful, and, what is of more importance, such suggestions of your own as you may think proper to make upon the subject. Don't be fastidious in regard to their form, but consider that the more they approach to that in which I shall have to use them, the more they will relieve my labours in this branch of my business, which have become oppressively extensive. I am just sending off a long, I fear too long, answer to the Indiana Convention, embracing almost all the important topics of the day, and have several others on hand. I find the best way, and the surest one to be is, to prepare my answer in a form which satisfies unfriendly inquirers that they have nothing to gain by such movements, and at the same time make all I can out of their curiosity.[1]

If I get your answer in 3 or 4 weeks it will be in season. I would not give you this trouble, if I were not sure you will not complain of it. When you have possessed yourself of what may be useful in this you may destroy it. Remember me kindly to Mrs. Bancroft, and believe me to be, very truly your friend.

John Van Buren to Bancroft.

Albany, March 29, 1843.

. . . Your State has taken a noble stand on the Presidential question, and I shall always feel extremely grateful to them for it. I can well imagine the plausible objections you had to encounter, and wonder almost at your surmounting them. The time of the Convention and mode of electing delegates does not meet the views of our people here. I see Virginia differs from you also as to time, but acquiesces in the District feature. The indications in Charleston seem to be that it was

[1] Smith wrote to each of the leading candidates, and the questions can be gathered from Calhoun's reply, printed in his "Works," vi. 209.

not intended that Mr. Rhett's requisitions should be complied with. Mr. Calhoun's friends, I fear, are seeking cause of offence and determined to find it. If this is so, it is as well that we have seasonable notice.

Our friends in the surrounding States seem desirous to hear a voice from New York on the Presidential question, and say that our silence is wondered at and misconstrued. The probability is, therefore, that an expression will be made here by the members of the Legislature. So far as I can learn, we are perfectly unanimous as to time, place, circumstance and person. Altho I see very little of the members of the Legislature and rarely, if ever, speak with them on this subject, yet I think if there was any diversity of sentiment, it would come to my ears.

I regretted very much that I could not satisfy myself the invitation to the Morton festival was addressed to me, as it would have given me great pleasure to have attended. If the matter has not passed from the recollection of the committee, and you chance to fall in with any of them, please say as much to them for me. To celebrate a democratic victory in Massachusetts and at Boston, seems to me the *beau idéal* of political enjoyments, and certainly no victory could be more thoroughly Democratic or truly gratifying in every respect, than one which places Mr. Morton in your curule chair. . . .

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, May 10, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, — I think it certain, that each state should decide for itself, how its delegates shall be chosen to the National Convention. Whoever objects to that, will, I think, find opinions against him. Mr. Calhoun's friends in New England hoped for the rule of voting man by man in the convention, and man by man in districts, thus thinking to smuggle in a few friends and win a few suffrages. You have no idea of the corruption that has been attempted here: odious, disgusting, and injurious to our party, because leaving in the public mind a sentiment of uncertainty and distrust. I have done my utmost to prevent Tyler's putting the offices here into the hands of nominal democrats. The movement was designed to throw us into a minority here, which I am afraid will be accomplished, and then to barter away the vote of Massachusetts in the convention, *all that they could offer*, to the South.

In convention the simplest course is certainly to vote as the states vote. If the states vote by general ticket, then the delegates in convention should do so. These two points ought not to be yielded in any essential variation.

As to the time of Convention, I am not so clear. As an original question, November is best; but the delay has been so great, that I fear

November will hardly rally all. Besides the arguments for November are not all good ones. Congress will be President making! Well: we must take our chance of that. If they are wicked enough to thwart the public preference, they will at any rate seek to throw the election into the house.

Again: Calhoun's friends say, Mr. V. Buren would receive a nomination in the fall; but next May, Mr. Calhoun would get it. To this I answer: the regard for [of] the people for Mr. V. B. is not one that a winter can chill. If the public mind is likely to change between Nov. and May, let it have the opportunity: the friends of Mr. V. B. believe opinion would only be confirmed and expressed more fully in May.

Two things operate and will continue to do so. Men remember the defeat of 1840, and the first thought, and the ever recurring thought, in the common man, is, that the martyr of 1840 shall rise with the cause.

The next is, the strong tendency to union in the party. The most selfish, the rowdies, are for J. C. Calhoun; but they do not pray for Whig success: and many a man who now pouts his lip and hesitates and sneers, I mean yet to make huzza for Van Buren a note or two louder, than I, who have all along kept the even tenor of my way, shall think necessary for myself.

The letter to Indiana is surprisingly excellent. There is but one opinion about it.

The letter from "extra Billy" is hostile from beginning to end: treacherous: the work of a man who is unsettled, and who seeks to get into his possession something to make himself a man of importance by. Let me entreat you *not* to make an elaborate answer to it It would not suit the dignity of your position. Be sure of it, the very best answer of an elaborate kind you could make, if it had the spirit of Montesquieu and the wisdom of Madison, would in our great American public excite no other or little other inquiry, than why you should take so much notice of a man and an occasion, plainly worthy of so very little.

[A paragraph has been torn out.]

Command me always. You have not many firmer friends: only it vexes me, that the way is not open for me to do all I could wish, or indeed anything very efficient. Faithfully and with highest respect, yours.

Every letter that you may answer, does not improve your position. All that can follow from the happiest answer is, that it leaves you as well as it found you. Others may write ingenious, able, or even captivating letters. It is your career of service, and its results which single you out from among all competitors.

Resolutions.

Resolved, That the Democracy of Massachusetts recognize with pride and delight, that among the distinguished statesmen of our coun-

try there are many who by their talents, their patriotism, and their bold, assiduous and firm regard for popular rights, are able and are worthy to guide the country onwards in its career of freedom, and as its chief magistrate in the conduct of public affairs, to set an example to the nations.

Resolved, That for the purpose of uniting the Democracy of the whole country, and making the great number of our distinguished men an element of strength and not of division, we cordially adopt the proposition of the Democratic Convention of the Legislature of Maryland, and join in recommending a national convention to be held at Baltimore on the first, or, at latest, on the second Monday in May, eighteen hundred and forty four.

Resolved, That the delegates to the National Convention from each state, should be equal to the number of its electoral votes for President, from Massachusetts, therefore, should be twelve; two to be chosen for the state at large by the next Democratic State Convention, the others to be chosen one from each congressional district by a district convention.

Resolved, That we approve the administration of Martin Van Buren, his uncompromising fidelity to the cardinal principles of Democracy, the calm but unyielding firmness with which he maintained the rights of the country in its foreign relations, the energy with which he arrested the evils menaced by the abuse and the excesses of the credit system: that the financial policy which he adopted is directly connected with the best interests of humanity and with the rights of labor, is in harmony with the requisitions of advancing civilization, and tended to give to our favored land its just position among the nations of the earth.

Resolved, That the Democracy never suffers its faithful champions to become the victims of unfounded prejudice, that it rallies under defeat, rises in ever renewed vigor, and sees but a moral fitness and justice in vindicating most fully the triumph of the cause by upholding those who were overwhelmed only for their courageous and unflinching fidelity to the trusts which the people had confided to their hands.

Resolved, That the Democratic Legislative convention of Massachusetts, believing they express the opinion of the democracy of the Commonwealth, express their preference for Martin Van Buren as candidate for President at the approaching election, subject to the decision of the Democratic National Convention.

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, May 23, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, — The enclosed are but a specimen of what we have had to encounter. Spencer writes, no appointments till an organization is effected; then "*changes founded on political considerations.*"

More open corruption never walked abroad. This has been at work in Connecticut, and though her opinions and preferences are sound, the activity of intrigue paralyzed them for a moment, for want of concert.

What is the cause? A want of sufficiently close concert and sufficiently digested plan of action among your friends: the speedy settling of the principles from which there can be no swerving, and the concessions that should be made.

In my opinion, your friends ought to say, that as a general question November or an earlier day is best: but that as, for you, May is best, because the longer the question of preference is discussed, the stronger will be the expression of that preference.

As for mode of electing delegates, the states rights Doctrine fixes well the right of each state to decide for itself.

And as for the mode of voting in convention, for the states to vote there as they vote for electors.

The discussion of time now goes against those who wish for November; the leaning is strong for May, and I believe we can do as well then as now; and shall gain by adopting May strongly.

I must ask that the particular papers enclosed be returned to me. But if any one can make a good use of a copy, there is no objection. Only I wish the source not to be traced whence it gets abroad: and if used in a newspaper, it should be at a distance, and Danforth's name not brought out.

Woodbury is terribly, terribly treacherous. But he will find every road but the right one so blocked up, that we shall dredge him in and drive him into his old allegiance.

I do not trouble you with the little changes that take place around me. I do not wholly despair of our winning this state next year at the Presidential Canvass: this autumn we shall make a good fight: but there has been enough of the Calhoun-Tyler corruption amongst us to defeat us this autumn. Ever Faithfully yours and with highest respect.

Van Buren to Bancroft.

Lindenwald, June 1, 1843.

My dear Sir, — Accept my thanks for the enclosed. I have taken a copy to shew confidentially to my friend, Mr. Wright, from whom I expect a visit in a few weeks. Was there ever such profligacy in the administration of public patronage before? I think not in any country. But I think also that you overrate (as Gov. Morton did also) the political effects likely to result from it. The number of Federal offices in the states is comparatively small. In a few weeks or months they will all be disposed of, and then the public mind will be directed towards the recipients, and what with the disgust of honest men and the indig-

nation of the disappointed, the office-holders cannot fail to become obnoxious and powerless long before the time when their services will be required, by those who advance the wages of their subserviency.

The time for the holding of the national Convention will in the end settle down quietly. . . .

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, June 6, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, — We have just had a specimen of the effect of hoping for office from Mr. Tyler. In Saltonstall's district,[1] where the whigs have been till now held in check, the whig candidate appears to be elected by about one hundred majority. Our New England people have no affinity with Calhoun, and any person suspected of favoring him, meets with a prompt rebuke.

Yet both Mr. Webster and Mr. Calhoun believe they are to become president. Each has wished to get the other out of the country, that a fair field might be had. Last winter Webster formally proposed to Mr. Calhoun to go to London on a special mission to regulate the tariff by treaty; Mr. C. pleaded his age, his inexperience in that service, his want of acquaintance with European life. "There is but one man" added he, who could accomplish anything." But Webster would not go.

Webster seems not unusually embarrassed for money. It is supposed by many, that he is retained by persons largely interested in State-Stocks; and derives a good income from their hopes and their consequent liberality. Few in England know how feeble is his political influence here.

Never had a party a better opening than we have in Massachusetts, if all would but profit by our position. But they will not. The Essex wing of our army wavers, being under Levi Woodbury's influence.

I write today to say, that a tin box filled with ice and fish will be taken in the passenger train by Harnden's express, on Friday next. Our salmon come from different rivers; I told Johnson, the best fishmonger in Boston, to send one half of a huge one: there are also very good ones of nine and ten pounds; but those smaller than that are not so good. Salmon is now twenty or twenty-three cents a pound. No doubt he will the first time send you rather more of the kinds than you may want; but he lives so near me, that it is really no trouble to me to see him and bear any message. The box in which the fish are sent is to be returned, for which purpose *a wooden label* will be found inside, with *Johnson's name* on it. Harnden brings the box back for nothing: taking pay only for transportation to Kinderhook. For that he demands fifty cents, which Johnson pays and charges in his monthly

[1] Leverett Saltonstall, of Salem.

account. Salmon you know may be kept on ice nearly a week: crimped cod cannot be kept very long, yet longer and better for being crimped. Lobster should not be kept.

How magnificent are these details, addressed to the Author of the Subtreasury System!

Mrs. Bancroft desires her best regards. You incur a great risk, that we accept your invitation. Faithfully and with highest respect.

The piece in the Hartford Times[1] speaks my thought; especially that it was your administration which recalled the Carolinian from his wanderings into infinite space. To say that the present position of the Democratic Party is due to Calhoun, is preposterous; he himself was saved, as well as what is of more consequence, the cause.

Bancroft to Van Buren.

Boston, June 12, 1843.

My dear Sir, — The Virginia Bill of rights forms a part of its new constitution as it did of its old; first adopted June 12, 1776. In "Proceedings and Debates of the Virginia State Convention of 1829–1830," printed by Ritchie, it is found at page 895. At page 907 of the same volume, Governor Giles cites a letter from Jefferson to Judge Woodward, saying: "The fact is unquestionable, that the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of Virginia were drawn originally by George Mason, one of our really great men, and of the first order of greatness." He, Jefferson, then goes on to claim the *preamble* to the old constitution as his work. At page 263 Mr. Johnson argues that the *community* referred to in the Bill of Rights, includes only the qualified voters, who were parties to the social compact.

I enclose the three first articles of the Bill of Rights, and can send you the ponderous volume if you wish.

I was heartily glad to *see Medary.*[2] You are hardly aware of the intense exertions now making by the men who are opposed to your re-election. The next contest will be an angry one beyond measure. Concert, a definite, well-understood line of policy among your friends, is alone necessary for success. But that is necessary; and thus far that has in some degree been wanting. No differences on minor points, a concentration on the essential ones, an inflexible adherence there, and a perfect choice? through the land, must be had. The false statements that are boldly made by our opponents, may astonish by their effrontery. Calhoun has reasoned deeply but too metaphysically; has all the corruption on his side, that the democracy for the last nine years has sloughed off; and while he himself plants himself on slavery, he leaves his adherents to appeal to the basest passions as well as to the

[1] Gideon Welles's paper. [2] John Medary, of Ohio.

highest principles. How much they can accomplish, judge by New Hampshire. That state is perfectly sound: its vote in convention will be unanimous: yet Woodbury, hoping great ultimate advancement for himself, succeeds in naming the latest 4th Monday in May, 1844, for the Convention; and having a good understanding with the conservatives of New Hampshire, *enacts the part* of an ultra-radical to blind the people; just as in New York he is the impersonation of free trade. Just so in this state, the friends of Mr. Calhoun are so desperately touched with Rhode-Island principles, that they cannot be satisfied that Gov. Morton has gone far enough: and actually oppose us with a frenzied vehemence, because Dorr (who is rather a large pattern) cannot be swallowed whole.

But that there is danger, may be inferred from Woodbury's course. His selfish instincts are keen. He discovered, that he should resign at the close of your first term, just as soon as he discovered your re-election to be doubtful. He hurt the moral force of the party here by his nepotism, and *some other things*. He then had the effrontery to hint, that questions came up in the Cabinet, where *he* was obliged to step in and shoulder the responsibility, and actually set such tales afloat here. He wrote lately to Wickliffe[1] in favor of a travelling Post office agent, who was to be an electioneering tool, and now seeks to divert the voice of New Hampshire from its natural tones. This time he has no sagacity. You are still in the eyes of the nation commander of the Democratic ship; and he is a foolish man to think he can jump overboard and swim for shore, sooner than the gallant vessel will itself reach the destined haven. But for this end, there is work to do, even for the humblest. *Medary* intends to do his part.

Poor Johnson the fishmonger was intoxicated with the glory of sending your fish; and packed up I know not what all, enough for an apartment in Noah's Ark, except I believe, Noah did not take fish on board. As I see him or his agent almost daily, a slip addressed to me will keep him henceforward within bounds. The first time it was impossible. As soon would my old classmate Cushing[2] be satisfied with only making three bows on his entrance into Pekin. Faithfully and with highest respect.

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, June 22, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, — I saw early this week a member of the New Hampshire Convention, who was also one of the Committee on resolutions. He assured me that the committee was a packed one, that

[1] Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, now Postmaster-General.
[2] Caleb Cushing, now commissioner to China.

Woodbury really himself wrote the resolution recommending himself, that it, the resolution, was before the committee in Woodbury's own handwriting, his own name written with his own hand. The same spirit has been at work in Maine. I found the editor of the Maine Age was in the city this week, and I sought him out, intending if possible to see more of him when he again came to the city. He was himself wavering; the people he owned to be right, but there are busy, intriguing politicians, who have taken advantage of the quiet forbearance of our friends. Thus the plan has been laid, to nominate of the three men Parks, [Edward] Kavanagh and Anderson, the one as candidate for governor, the other two as delegates to the national convention. Thus by seeming to promote union, the first step in Maine is likely to be a wrong one. I knew nothing of this design till Tuesday. As any expression of opinion would certainly be in your favor, the further plan is to have none whatever. Bad proceedings, and yet the issue will be right. But activity and cordial union are most necessary.

Our celebration on the 17th was very grand; the immense concourse of people, the beauty of the day, and the universal joyousness formed one of the most sublime and most agreeable spectacles I have ever witnessed. From the Boston State House to Bunker Hill, the streets were thronged; pretty, smiling faces beamed from every balcony, clustered at the windows, ventured out upon the roofs; and some daring ones sat proudly elevated on chimney tops. Webster in his speech was heavy: but the audience befriended him. I rode to the Hill in the carriage next the President with [John C.] Spencer and [James M.] Porter. The latter is a noisy, coarse, shallow politician; lean in ideas, though large enough in person. Spencer and he were full of foolish jests, but he, most so. Returning, Webster also occupied the carriage, and it amused me to see how the others were overawed by Webster's presence. I saw at once, why Webster was driven from the Cabinet.

The dinner was a cold water one; teetotal: but Tyler must have his brandy and water, and it was amusing to see him hold his tumbler below the table, to get a stiff glass of it, and then duck himself down to swallow it unseen. Quite a jest for the Washingtonians.

The Whigs paid little court to the Cabinet. I called on them on Sunday, once and once only, and found only officials and office seekers. There was quite a party of the faithless, who haunted them constantly. Robert Tyler made a regular onset upon Gov. Morton's son, telling him that the next Presidential question lay between Tyler and Cass, and that Gov. Morton ought to run as Vice President on the ticket with him. Such fools exist! Of Tyler I think better and worse: that is, I had no conception that he is so weak a man as he showed himself here; and I think better of his integrity by perceiving how in-

capable he is of a steady judgment. His cabinet dupe him. Spencer sees clearly his feebleness, and takes the utmost advantage of it. Tyler thinks his cabinet are planning his re-election, and they are really busy for some one else; Spencer, who rules it, being for Calhoun.

The same sort of correspondence which took place between Spencer and the Connecticut politicians, was entered into with some in Maine.

But I shall weary you with details. The country is not long doomed to remain in the hands of a set of men, who have not one distinguishing quality but corruption. Faithfully and with highest respect.

Poor Legaré [1] came to his end by a chronic disease, which now came to a crisis. Art could not save him.

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, July 18, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, — Gov. Branch [2] of North Carolina passed Sunday at Boston. I met him in the evening and he followed me home, remaining with me till near midnight. I was surprised as well as pleased to find him impressed with the most kindly dispositions towards you; acknowledging that his transient disaffection was the result of misconception, and expressing towards you warm sentiments of adhesion. He says he voted with us in 1840, though not in 1836; and seems resolved to do his duty in the next campaign. His own state, however, he describes as not reliable. Of the decision of the convention he expressed no doubt whatever; though in the issue he seemed to think Clay more formidable than he is commonly supposed to be. There are men in North Carolina who think nothing but manufactures can make that state prosper, and so incline to a protective tariff; forgetting that they would then need protection against New England and Pennsylvania. I was so pleased with his candor, that I thought it worth mentioning to you.

A-propos of our old Secretary of the Navy, the new one has not left Boston for Washington. Mr. Henshaw has ability sufficient to make himself an able officer, but he is too excitable. As a politician he was too dogmatical to succeed; though his decision of character will aid him in the Navy department: but he has no healthy frame, capable of enduring his new position. The first worry of the honor threw him on his back with the gout, and he has been under the physician's care ever since. And he will have recurrences of disease, as often as his passions are violently roused or his equanimity disturbed. But for this, the appointment was altogether the best that Tyler *for his purposes* could have made. Yet Henshaw is not malignant; his ambition is

[1] Hugh S. Legaré, who died suddenly in Boston, during this celebration.

[2] John Branch, who had resigned from Jackson's cabinet in April, 1831.

excessive and masters him, and his vanity is as great as his force of will. The effect of his appointment politically is a nullity. It may assist to prevent Morton's re-election: but we had great obstacles before, and I do not know that they are made greater. As to Henshaw, his reigning passion at this time is to prevent a northern nomination at Baltimore, and that is with him at this time a more engrossing consideration than any other. My own opinion is, that the indifference of contempt is the fit mode of neutralizing him, rather than decided opposition.

Webster has not wholly dissimilar views. He finds himself floating about without a rudder, ready to follow the leadings of Providence. He is himself not without some vague hope of becoming a candidate for the Presidency; to his next strongest sentiment, *hatred* of *Henry Clay*, he as yet remains true: hence his leanings towards Calhoun, which are manifest. To support Calhoun is the least sacrifice of his self-love. You stand next to Henry Clay as the object of his dislike and the person whom he would defeat; but in his inmost heart, the success of Clay would be more bitter to him than your own re-election. With these statements, which I think may be relied on, and with your knowledge of Webster's character, you can judge of his future course. Henshaw's friends, as indeed the whole Calhoun party, treat Mr. Webster with great courtesy.

That Clay will be the Whig candidate becomes, I think, every day more certain.

In all our movements here, I have taken care to keep my temper, and have endeavored to restrain all personalities. But the attempt to restrain personalities in some obstinate men was a vain one. It would not be surprising, if the effect of the angry passions and hopes and disappointments of the season were to be cunningly turned in a direction to leave me apparently less in favor with the democracy at our Convention in September next, than in some past occasions. But I shall not gratify those who are lying in wait to catch some word of petulance or personal remark; continuing to pursue an even course, with as little excitement as possible.

The extreme virulence of the Tyler-Calhoun men leads me to renew the hope I once ventured to express to you, that you will answer letters at length only on very great occasions, such as a letter from a convention. Otherwise all manner of traps will be set for you, and some questions put, which it is impossible to treat, or which should be left to the action of the public mind. You have done your part, and it is now for your friends to do theirs. And I believe they will. The question with which as a practical statesman you will have nothing to do, ought not [to] be forced upon your attention. Besides: what ever you might say would be cavilled at by the whole Whig party, and the Calhoun men into the bargain.

Your son I saw to-day, very well, and sitting in a carriage by the side of so fine a woman, that he ought to be happy. The wines of the Commodore [1] continue excellent; and his horse Charlie is as meek as his master. Faithfully and with highest respect.

VAN BUREN TO BANCROFT.

LINDENWALD, July 24, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, — I thank you most kindly for your friendly letter. The gentleman you conversed with has a good heart but has shown himself exceedingly fickle in his politics. What he says, though doubtless sincere at the time is not of very great value except as evidence of the prevailing feeling. I shall take the best possible care of the querists. The enclosed from my *friend* S.[2] shews you that the last has terminated as I expected it would. As he evidently desires that nothing more should be said about the matter, you will of course see that he is not disappointed in this, so far as you're concerned. Please return it to me that I may shew it to Mr. Wright. I have also written a letter (a short one) upon the repeal question to the "Friends of Irish Liberty," in Georgia, which will I think please you, if it ever sees the light, of which there also appears to be some doubt. Upon a reperusal of the one sent you for delivery at Boston I became satisfied that I was greatly indebted to you for returning it to me.

I notice and appreciate, I am sure, correctly, what you say about your approaching Convention. A young man who so rapidly acquires a high political standing, must expect to excite jealousy and uneasiness on the part even of the best disposed of his associates. It is not in human nature to make it otherwise, and whether it is injurious or beneficial to him depends upon how he treats it, and that again upon his own good temper and good sense. If he indulges its exhibitions, and treats the actors in them with kindness and confidence, as far as he believes them honest, they will be sure, and that in a very short time, to turn about and repay him with interest. I have been an eye witness and close observer of the disease all my lifetime, and have never found any difficulty in curing the subjects of it, when they were only honest in their general intentions; of which I could give you many amusing particulars. You will I am confident deal quite as wisely with it, and I trust fare as well. . . .

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, Sept. 1, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR, — I return forthwith the enclosed; and think the issue of the movement the very best that could have been.

[1] John B. Nicholson.

[2] William Smith.

Of the price current of pretended democrats in the Boston market, I have nothing to say; except that all the corruption (of which you can have no adequate idea of the magnitude or the ramifications,) will not be able to turn the Democracy of Massachusetts aside from its true preferences, which will be made known at Baltimore.

Mr. Lincoln,[1] my brother ex-collector, called last night to see me. I told him in a gentle way that he had been forewarned, that he had done more than any man in Massachusetts, to secure the election of Mr. Tyler. He confessed and was penitent; though remaining a whig, and I suppose, joining himself to Clay. He recapitulated to me all the proceedings of the past year, the attempt of the administration to pick a quarrel with him during a twelve-month; his own wary resistance. At Philadelphia, Roberts' letters from Tyler were made away with. To prevent this, Mr. Lincoln has kept the original letters from Spencer and Tyler, leaving in the office copies. On one occasion, a letter in the handwriting of Webster, signed by John Tyler, requested Mr. Lincoln to appoint one Albert Fitch to a place in the custom-House; Spencer, too, March 16, wrote, advising to an increase of officers and the appointment of this same person. Lincoln was obliged to say, that the increase of officers was not consistent with the public interest or the state of the public business. At last a vacancy came, and Lincoln sent to Spencer the name of Fitch. And then Spencer who had demanded the appointment, wrote to know who he was, and if he had "political influence."

Our party in Massachusetts cannot be debauched; but so many send to get offices, that the people are jealous; and I fear injury will be done to Morton. Indeed I think there are those who wish it: and those who will betray him. I blush to think what associates I have had in politics; and should turn from the strife with disgust, if I did not believe it a duty to do what I can to rescue exalted and ennobling principles from the eclipse they are threatened with.

I look to the Commodore for a bulletin from Mrs. Major Van Buren: but as yet he hoists no signal. I trust she is gaining strength, and had hoped that our salt-water baths would have contributed to her restoration. With highest respect, faithfully.

Bancroft to Van Buren.

Boston, September 14, 1843.

My dear Sir, — Yesterday we finished our year's campaign against the internal enemy in our own ranks. Every thing had been done by them: Uncle Sam's reservoirs tapped liberally: Henshaw came on to

[1] Levi Lincoln, of Worcester.

discipline the troops: every doubtful delegate that passed thro' Boston was waylaid and encouraged. But the true democracy of the party was roused: the farmers came down from the country: the throng was great, being the largest democratic convention ever held in this state. I went to Worcester on Monday. Tuesday evening a caucus was held. The Tyler-Calhoun people were on hand in all their strength. Those of our friends who spoke, spoke most adroitly: the very genius of Prudence seemed to have got into the hot heads themselves. At the close of the evening a kind feeling of the proper character prevailed. Next morning new throngs came. *We knew what we wanted.* Henshaw in the Worcester Congressional District had, by a sudden move, driven Isaac Davis from the track as candidate for Congress, and got himself nominated. We rectified that, by making Isaac President of the Convention. The convention nominated Morton and Childs [1] by acclamation. Then came the choice of delegates. It was proposed to make the expression of the opinion of the convention by the selection. The Tyler-Calhoun party headed their ticket with BENJ. F. HALLETT; and to increase their chances, Hallett rose in the convention and said, *he was for Van Buren.* All would not do. The friends of Van Buren came out openly, headed their ticket "Van Buren Ticket," and put on it one who has been named in the Madisonian as the most decided friend to Mr. V. B. in Massachusetts. With him they named H. H. Childs of Berkshire, who had given in his adhesion in the strongest possible language, as alone and entirely for Van Buren. I confess myself pleased, that the first of these two obtained the largest vote of all: the farmers, the country-people, were resolutely bent on sustaining me: and a firmer set of men never came together. Having followed up the legislative action of last winter by the choice of an avowed Van Buren ticket, triumphantly carried over the heads of the avowed opponents, of the lukewarm, of the hypocritics, of those who look one way and row the other, nothing remained but to endorse the action of the Syracuse Convention on the only new issue of Calhounism, which was done by voting unanimously, that "*each state for itself has the undoubted right to determine upon the manner of choosing its quota of delegates to the national Convention.*"

The work was not only done thoroughly, but done with a prudence and decision that could not be surpassed. I remain still proud of our Massachusetts Democracy. We shall have of our twelve delegates to Baltimore eleven reliable men, and one who will not dare to avow his secret preference for Calhoun.

I write this, because the exceedingly temperate tone which we have adopted, and which increases our strength and the public confidence vastly, might be fully understood by those who do not know our con-

[1] Dr. Henry Halsey Childs.

dition and the position of our men. Here every thing is defined and known, and well understood.

I was re-chosen unanimously Chairman of the State Committee, but the crisis being passed, I declined that service.

We have had a struggle; but the result has been a greater success, than those who are not of the State can estimate.

To the lady Angelica I beg to be most respectfully remembered.

To day begins my comparative leisure. The indefatigable activity of our opponents kept me till now very busy: their six months' toils, and their year's machinations, have vanished into nothing; and now I intended to have had holidays. My wife, who regretted deeply that the feeble health of our youngest child had taken her to Plymouth, returned in the view to meet Mrs. Van Buren, and we had nothing before us, but to congratulate her on recovering strength, and gain to ourselves the benefit of showing her the lions of our city, and welcoming her to our fireside. Faithfully, and with highest respect yours.[1]

Van Buren to Bancroft.

Lindenwald, October 7, 1843.

My dear Sir, — I found your kind letters on my return from the State Fair, and have only time to thank you for their contents. The results of your Convention were all that could be desired. I had full faith that the Country Delegates would do you justice, and was quite certain that you would, in the end, be the gainer by the splenetic efforts of those who are jealous of you, whatever was the result of the Convention.

I understand, I think, very well, every thing connected with the movements of the sound part of the Democracy of New England, and have, I think, a tolerably correct notion also of the Tyler and Calhoun men. I shall nevertheless be obliged by an occasional letter from you upon the subject and particularly in respect to the sayings and doings and dreamings of Messrs. Webster and Woodbury. . . .

P. S. Old Mr. Wadsworth of Geneseo (whom I visited lately) made me promise that I would get and read the "Philosophical Dictionary from the French of Voltaire," 2 vols. in one, published in Boston in 1836, and to be had at the Antiquarian Book Store of that place. The

[1] On January 5, 1844, Van Buren wrote: "Is there any truth in the story that Webster has purchased a place in N. York? He was complimentary enough to the mercantile interest in New York to justify them in making him such a present. Don't you think Mr Buchanan's paper a good one? I really do not see how it could have been better worded, or, in respect to himself, better timed." Buchanan's paper was probably his address to the Democrats of Pennsylvania, December 14, 1843, withdrawing as a presidential candidate. It is printed in his "Works," v. 437.

old Gentleman (though a Whig) was quite particular in advising me to get some friend to send for it, apprehending that a personal application for the Book might be used to my disadvantage. Will you have the goodness to procure it and send it to my son, the Major, well enclosed, by Harnden's Express, to be left at the Depot, and write when it is sent and also the price.

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

[October, 1843.]

MY DEAR SIR, — To-morrow Harnden will take the work you wished to see. It is addressed to Major A. Van Buren, Kinderhook, and will probably reach you on Monday or Tuesday at furthest. The Boston edition was a clumsy one, in a huge, inconvenient, unsightly volume: I found a copy of an English edition in six volumes; and it cost five dollars.

Marshal Bertrand made us a very short visit. He came to me immediately. In the morning I carried him to see the governor, spared him to Nicholson for two hours, and then carried him to visit the sage of Quincy, from whom we returned rather late. The next day, I put him under a good guide to Lowell, and on his return with the Mayor showed him our Boston institutions. At four o'clock he was seized and hurried away by the New York delegation. The Governor and council and the city authority visited him. Every body was charmed with the companion of Napoleon's exile.

Webster has at present no decided purpose with regard to national politics. He says (so astonishingly great is his command over his spirit!) that he has no wish, under any existing circumstances or any that he can consider probable, to become at present a candidate for the presidency: he has faith that you will have a lease of the White House for four years more; but he thinks the lease will come not from the Electoral College, but from the House of Representatives. He has taken part in our political campaign, with a view, I suppose, to recover his seat in the Senate.

Woodbury, just now, knows not what to do. He wanted to edge himself in to our battlefield someway to benefit himself, but your friends here not only have the ascendancy, but are constantly gaining in relative influence. The Democracy of Boston for example, placed me at the head of the senatorial ticket here, and it was done with a design. Meantime Woodbury and Rantoul began to perceive their danger. Indeed I explained to Rantoul fully his danger, and while the sounds have in every instance carried their point, they have not given one of "the unsound," an ostensible ground for secession. As a consequence we hold them to action: and dreading the effect of a diminution of one vote in Essex County the Rantoul infected district, they are

now exerting themselves to rally. What the result will be I know not, but I believe Woodbury is enough alarmed to wish us success. Meantime he hopes to get up on tickets enough to become Vice President. At this moment he is inactive: has no plans: waits to watch the winds: is a waiter upon Providence. He came here and delivered a lecture: pious after the most perfect pattern. He put his hand on his heart, as he spoke of the sacrifice of a broken heart in a manner that made me laugh and would have drawn tears from one so tender as you.

Your letter for the Irish was admirable, explicit and temperate. *I am heartily glad you have published nothing on Rhode Island.*[1] Their affairs there are in confusion, and offer no safe ground for the practical statesman. They have not shown elevation enough. It is best not to meddle with them as they now stand.

Our affairs in Massachusetts are uncertain. The Whigs have got up a series of most petty issues; if they confine the issue as they wish, they will succeed. Parties were never so equally balanced: there can be no election by the people; and no great majority either way in the house.

Best regards to the Major and Mrs. V. B. I trust her health is confirmed. Faithfully and with highest respect.

Van Buren to Bancroft.

Albany, February 25, 1844.

My dear Sir, — The enclosed will explain to you what our friends at Washington want. Gov^r^ Marcy thinks that his mode of writing is not the best that could be had for the purpose. What is desired is, a full statement of my course and character sufficiently comprehensive and accurate to serve as a text Book for our orators, and at the same [time] sufficiently eloquent to impress the multitude. I do but say what I really think when I refer to yourself as most capable of doing the thing as it ought to be done and knowing your zeal in what we at least regard as the good cause, and taking into consideration the improbability of your being able to render efficient service in the old Bay State, I have thought that you might be willing to undertake the task. We can spare you much labour by sending you, 1st. Mr. Holland's Work,[2] and Mr. Butlers, which is indeed included in it; 2dly. A great number of Documents and some notes which will be prepared here by Gov^r^ Marcy and my son Smith, and lastly the Gov^r^ will come to Boston, bring you the papers, and talk the whole matter over with you. To enlist public attention more effectually, it will be desirable that the work should be

[1] The queries of William Smith had relation to Rhode Island, p. 400, *ante*.

[2] W. M. Holland, whose unsatisfactory campaign life of Van Buren was issued in 1835.

placed in the Hands of an extensive publisher in New York, and that the fact that it has been prepared by you should be informally, at least, communicated to the public before it appears. The narration of the facts will be simple, made familiar to you, and cost you but little trouble, and the whole will be revised by my friends here who are more conversant with details, as fast as you get it ready. The reflections must be your own and will be the best part of it. Commodore Nicholson will take pleasure in receiving for and communicating from you whatever may be necessary. I am sure you would make a different affair of it from what has yet been done in similar cases, by weaving into it sound practical reflections, bearing upon the public cause and upon the nature of our institutions.

Now, my dear Sir, write me at your earliest convenience decide (?) to this plan, and if you say yes, Gov^r^ Marcy will be with you as soon as the necessary preparations can be made. With kind regards to Mrs. B., Very truly yours.

[Enclosures.]

SILAS WRIGHT TO WILLIAM L. MARCY.

Private. SENATE CHAMBERS, WASHINGTON, 5 February, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favor came safely, and you will have seen by the papers that the Senate had disposed of the question of Judge, and I had acted before it reached me. We are yet in ignorance of what is to be the next step upon that subject.

I have written to you a very long and very croaking letter, from which I have not heard, and have not expected to hear so soon. It is a much more difficult subject than the other, and I fear may break more than it will make before it is at rest again.

The old effort is already again making to induce the southern delegations to withdraw from Congress, address the people of the South, and go home. It has not proceeded far enough yet to measure its importance, nor can it be until the action upon the Tariff shall have farther developed itself; but I confess to you I have no little fear as to what we may see here before May. I have not time, however, now to write further than to make a single suggestion, which is the purpose of taking my pen now.

Many of our Western friends call earnestly for a small [1] pamphlet life of Mr. Van Buren, like that of Mr. Clay, which is now being liberally spread over the country. They say such a document, which we could circulate from here in large numbers would be of immense service. Their measure is from 30 to 50 pages, and they want it expressly to

[1] "More important to be full than small. Others can abbreviate it, if they wish." — *Note by Marcy.*

show his humble origin and that he has risen by his own efforts and merits merely, the strong points about the war and his support of it, and that a few pointed anecdotes should be interspersed if such can be found as will take with the masses.

Now I know of no person who can perform a task of this character as well as yourself, and no one who can do it so likely as to be able to command the leisure as yourself. Still I know very well how difficult a request it is, and I do not know what Mr. V. B. himself may think of the expediency of the step. Will you think of it and consult our friends at Albany about it, and if thought of sufficient importance, will you make a visit to Kinderhook to hold a council there about it?

Another and further suggestion is added to this, and that is that we should have another pamphlet made, being a true, fair, life of Clay, which we can send out with the other, when it is advisable. This has been made to me this morning, and I confess I am not clear about it, but I make it for your reflection, and that of our other friends, not that I expect to put this labour upon you, but that, if it should be thought best to follow the suggestion, I shall be glad if you can find any one to prepare it.

I have not time to add another word, but that I am, most sincerely yours,

SILAS WRIGHT.

MARCY TO VAN BUREN.

ALBANY, Feby 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received yesterday the enclosed and have talked only with Mr. Flagg[1] on the suggestion therein contained. He thinks it would be well to have it carried out. I like it very well also, except the person indicated to execute it. I am certainly not the one to undertake it. I abominate man worship, and to escape from the slightest suspicion of it, should be likely to come short of what might be said with truth and propriety. I have not a single document that would be required, but documents might be easily collected. I am not certain of having the requisite leisure. It is wise to learn of your enemy, yet I feel considerable reluctance to follow their example. They are flooding the country with *little Lives* of Mr. Clay, and the bookstores are graced with *great Lives* and *pictures* of him.

What say you to the suggestion in Mr. W's letter? What you say is to me, and to *me* only if you desire it. You must lay aside all modesty and give the result of your reflections. You can suggest some one who will execute the work better than I can, should it be thought advisable to undertake it. I am quite willing to aid so far as I can in

[1] Azariah C. Flagg, Comptroller of the State of New York.

the matter. If it is to be gone into, the sooner the better. When will you be here? If not soon write me on the subject. Yours sincerely,

W. L. MARCY.

VAN BUREN TO BANCROFT.

LINDENWALD, March 23d, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received a letter from our friend Gov. Marcy yesterday, in which he informs me that you have begun the work in good earnest. The plan when he left us was, that you should write to Mr. Flagg at Albany (Azariah C. Flagg, Esq.) for any information you might want. The Govr says you will write to my son, Smith. If there is no special reason for the change, the former course had better be pursued. Mr. F. has been spoken to upon the subject. The enclosed letter from Genl. McCalla, of Kentucky, may serve to point your attention to a particular aspect of the suffrage matter. You will see by one of the speeches in Holland that remarks somewhat of the character referred to was made, but that they were passed over in the speech as it appears in the Pamphlet sent you. If the speech is republished it will be best to publish it as Holland has it, as an attempt at concealment might otherwise be charged. I am sensible of the necessity you will be under to curtail the speeches and other documents as heretofore published to arrive at the desired brevity. But I desire to have all the matters of fact so truly stated that I may refer to the work in reply to the thousand letters I am constantly receiving. I shall be curious to see the view you take of the suffrage matter. There is room for the display of your good judgment.

Mr. Paulding[1] will write you upon the subject of the Seamans order,[2] and will [be] happy to make from time [to time] such suggestions as may occur to him. Mr. Butler's memory is also better than my own, and I frequently have occasion to refer to him for information in regard to matters personal to myself. You will remember the article in the Democratic Review, in respect to the message at the extra session, that it was written for Posterity &c. The doctrines of that message are singularly in co-incidence with the present state of public opinion. Posterity has therefore come sooner than I could hope for. . . .

[Enclosure.]

McCALLA TO VAN BUREN.

WASHINGTON CITY, 18 March, 1844.

DEAR SIR, — I have been spending two months in this city on business; and in the meantime been making preparations for the

[1] James K. Paulding, who had been Secretary of the Navy in Van Buren's cabinet.

[2] Order referring to flogging in the navy.

canvass in Kentucky, by collecting such documents as may suit the occasion. I perceive that Gen. Combs[1] in a speech in Lexington, attacked your position on the suffrage question in the N. York convention, and attributed to you the opinion, "that poor men's votes would make our elections a curse rather than a blessing; and that rich negroes should be permitted to rush up to the polls, bidding the poor old soldier who had risked his life and his all for his country, to stand back." Such is the account given [by] a whig paper in Lexington of his speech.

I have examined the journal of that convention, in Congress library, and have reference to all your votes on the subject, and am so far prepared. But I was told that Mr. Schenck of the H. of R., in a speech last week, made a similar attack on your sentiments upon the subject, and even read from a pretended [speech] of yours declarations like those attributed to you by Combs. I cannot find the debates in the convention here, and have therefore nothing to examine to find the truth on the subject. I do not like to be thrown on the defensive at all, but when I do defend, I wish to be prepared to make it good, and then to carry the war into the enemy's country, which I am fully prepared to do.

Will you be good enough to furnish me with the facts in the case, in brief, and if possible, with a copy of the debates, if they shall be suitable. . . . I am one of the electors of the demo-party in Kentucky, for the state, and expect to take the field as soon as I return home, which will be in a few days.

Jn° M. M°Calla.

Bancroft to Van Buren.

Boston, March 28, 1844.

My dear Sir, — Yesterday evening I finished the convention. In the evening I got your favor of the 23d. I think you will be pleased with the view I have taken of the convention, especially on the *veto*, the appointment, and above all the suffrage question. To day I usher you into the Senate.

As to the convention, the *veto power*, the *distribution* of patronage, instead of *concentration*, the magnanimous attempt to save Van Ness, are touched upon. The suffrage question more fully. Not one word do I use of justification or apology: all is affirmative, declaratory. I think the previous statements have from their timidity and anxiety been most unjust to you: Butler the most: Butler was over-anxious to be impartial. Holland next: the Albany pamphlet is better. On this subject *Hammond* is more just towards you than either of the three.

[1] Leslie Coombs.

I shall finish the sketch as soon as possible. For your Presidential career, I could wish a better opportunity to explain what I think was the great movement in it. It would be worth six months' study. However, limited as the time is. I shall try my hand at it.

My collections are so long, that I should not much trouble Mr. Flagg, till I present the sketch for consideration. Then I wish all eyes opened. For if any thing gets into print, that should not, I shall shelter myself under my council, meaning to have Wright and Flagg and Marcy for councillors: and, as the document is to see the light pending an election, I shall claim your severest criticism.

As to Texas! Shall a word be said about it! The question of annexation is revived. Long ago a plan was laid to extort letters from you and from Mr. Clay on that subject. My judgment would be, not to notice the topic at all, or to do it boldly. The current of democratic opinion is rather in favor of annexation. You can send me a hint or not as you think best. Let Martin make a memorandum in his hand.

But all that precaution is unnecessary. A word from you is as safe with me, as if I were in the grave.

Webster is here. Do you know, that when Secretary of State, he negotiated, that is attempted to negotiate with Mexico for the extension of our boundary on the Pacific? This is a fact. He desired to purchase of Mexico enough to get San Francisco within our limits. No small slice of New Spain on the Pacific. You may rely on this. I also most fully believe, that he attempted with Ashburton the settlement of the Oregon question. Ashburton, as I believe, told him England did not want to colonize Oregon, but only to protect its Hudson Bay Company's interests. With affectionate respect.

Mr. Paulding has just sent me his circular about flogging.

JOSEPH SMITH TO VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, March 30, 1844.

SIR, — As an humble member of the great democratic party, I have taken the liberty to address you upon a subject in which I feel no small degree of interest. It is perhaps already known to you that there is a paper published in this city, called the "Bay State Democrat." This paper and its *few* adherents claim to be your exclusive friends in this section, and as such are always ready to denounce all democrats who honestly prefer any other democrat than yourself as the next democratic candidate for the Presidency, however ready they may be to support the nominee of the Baltimore Convention.

If you see the above named paper (and I presume you do) you cannot have failed, I think, to discover that the course of this paper is detrimental to the interests of democracy in this quarter, and far from

being productive of good to your own interests. I have spoken of the *few* adherents to that paper. I can assure you they are *verry* few among democrats, and such as it has, are, in my opinion, such as are so more from interest than from principle. I think that no man who has been an observer of the course pursued by the conductors of that paper, will for a moment admit, that their conduct has been prompted by a desire to advance the interests of the democratic party. But whatever may have been their motives, I have means of knowing that their efforts have been attended with much injury to our cause. I have recently heard a gentleman of this city, who has hitherto been an ardent and zealous advocate of yours, and one who has ever been ready and willing to contribute his time and his means to the advancement of your interests, I say I have recently heard such a gentleman assert publicly in our reading room, that so far as he was concerned he was determined to stand aloof and take no part in the coming Presidential election, although you were the candidate, and upon enquiry, he gave as a reason that you sanctioned the course of the B. S. Democrat, he having been given to understand that by the conductors of that paper or their friends.

Now, my dear Sir, my object in making bold to address you, is simply to ascertain if they have ever had your sanction to the course they have been and are pursuing. I do not believe it myself, but I should like to have it in my power to say that I know beyond the possibility of doubt, that such is not the fact. And, Sir, unless you deem it detrimental to the good of the democratic party to reply, I would request such answer as you may deem proper to make to the inquiry.[1]

I can assure you that I am prompted by no interested motive in making it, on the contrary I have no other motive than the good of the cause of democracy. I am a mechanic, and as such earn my living. I am not now, I never have been, and I think I never shall be an applicant for any office in the gift of the government. My prefference has ever been and openly expressed, in favour of Martin Van Buren for the next Presidency. You will find my name recorded as one of the Democratic Ward Committee for the 12th Ward of the City of N. Y. in the campaign of 1836. You will also find it recorded as Democratic County Committee for the 12th Ward of this city, during that of 1840, which station I still hold. I am ready to do all in my power to secure the election of the nominee of the Baltimore Convention. I am also satisfied that the first choice of that Convention will

[1] In sending this letter to Bancroft, Van Buren wrote: "If he is what he professes to be, an honest mechanick, have the goodness to satisfy him how very wrong it is to put such interrogatories to me. As a sensible man he ought to know, that I could have [no] more to do with the articles in the Gazette, or Post, or any other paper, than he has."

be yourself. But if feuds and dissentions are to be scattered broadcast throughout our party, how can we hope to be successfull. The entire democratic party of this city to a man would have been willing to have given you their support, and cheerfully too, if it were not for the discords sown among us by interested individuals. I presume that to be the case throughout the whole U. S. It is important to us to have union. With that we can succeed. With union and good feeling the Democratic party can elect its candidates. Without it, it were useless to attempt it. I am only anxious to have such a state of feeling that our whole party may be enabled to pull together. There will be work enough for us all and unless we can all work, and work together, certain defeat will be the inevitable result. Our opponents are as unscrupulous as ever; they are now, as in 1840, ready to outrage all truth and decency. How important then that we should be united, that we should pursue such a course as will insure harmony and good feelings in our ranks. I am convinced that the course pursued by the B. S. Democrat does not tend to harmonize and unite the democratic party, and has been productive of far more injury than good to the cause of democracy. Yours very respectfully,

JOSEPH SMITH.

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

April 16, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, — My task is done in the rough. I shall pay A. C. F. by instalments: hope the first instalment this week.

To sit at a feast where half the viands are forbidden, that has to a degree been my lot.

To day Webster asserted that he had letters from Washington to this effect: Clay has sent to some person there a letter twenty pages long, saying this is not the time for annexing Texas (i. e. let me humbug the Northern abolitionists and after that humor the South.)

Many thanks for your compliment on my handwriting. I take out daily a letter of Paulding's beautifully written, and say, A wise man prefers my autograph to that.

Texas or no Texas, Maine and New Hampshire go for Van Buren: and in New England no other state. Ever most truly.

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, April 22, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am sorry not to see what is alluded to in your last letter.

Van Raumer, the German traveller, arrived here yesterday in the steamer. He declaims vehemently against our present tariff; says slavery is a thing we found here, but this illiberality in commerce is

a sin of our own. Of Texas he speaks strongly; hopes nothing will prevent its annexation.

Here attempts to get up an excitement on the subject have failed. In the towns where shoes are made and where abolitionists most abound, it appears they desire to make shoes for Texas. The cotton spinners wish to buy and sell in that market. In our small fishing towns, the owners of shipping are in favor of annexation. "It is the affair of Louisiana over again," said Van Raumer, almost in landing: and I have heard the same before from many. The Whigs were at first vehement: now they *all* agree that Texas is to be annexed; but not now, they add, not just at this moment. I judge they expect the treaty will lie over till after election.

To day I have sent to A. C. F. three chapters of a most curious, instructive, momentous, and not to be guessed at work. Seriously, it is a very serious matter. I look to you, that not one word escapes that is not strictly true, and further, that is not free from the censure of being unwise. Erase, add, explain, comment, give me hints. I have no pride of authorship: I am a calm, tranquil friend to the cause. I could wish it read aloud to you, a chapter at a time, slowly, by some one who first gets familiar with the handwriting. After the thing is published, it will be too late to alter, or amend, or retract, or explain. If any thing wrong is left standing, I absolve myself in advance.

Two chapters or perhaps three more, I shall submit to your eye: the rest of the History of the U. S. being less identified with Lake George and Albany will reach you next autumn in stout octavos.

Kindest regards to the Lady Angelica to whom my wife joins me in sending salutations. To you we wish all happiness. Faithfully yours.

I trust you will write me very frankly. Why this or that is said or omitted, has its reason: but the reason must speak for itself to be of any value.

Bancroft to Van Buren.

Boston, May 2, 1844.

My dear Sir, — I sent to Mr. Flagg the manuscript of Chapters 1, 2, and 3. I sent him in printed strips for greater convenience and more ready correction Chap. 4. on Monday. To night I send Chap. V, and a part of Chap. 6, likewise in printed strips.[1] *Tomorrow* without fail the residue of Chap. 6, which is the last will be forwarded.

Erase and where it is too fine, as it is in several places, add: omit: but I pray, leave nothing standing that we should afterwards regret.

[1] In 1853 Van Buren wished to have a set of those proofs, but Bancroft replied: "There were no copies taken off, except as corrected proof-sheets, and I regret, that if your copy is mislaid, I am unable to replace it. One I remember was sent to Mr. Wright; but I think he sent it back at the time."

I hope Flagg and Marcy will go down and keep Sunday with you: and I send two or three copies, that it may be discussed more conveniently. Anything can be added, that is thought best. The three manuscript chapters ought to be with me very soon.

If you think best for any reason to suppress the thing, you must say so. I have no motive but the public good; and would at best pray that the good cause may not be harmed by any word of mine. If published, the opinions incidentally hinted, should be considered and erased if need be. The little [essay] contains your committed opinions on almost every thing.

What can be more sad than for a man to serve under John Tyler? What: unless it be to found an argument in defence of slavery on fictitious statistics, and address it to a British minister! And that is the way questions are settled, that were announced to be more momentous than any since the war of revolution! I foresaw inevitable disappointment to the returning statesman.[1]

I have read carefully your very able letter on Texas. It is admirably written. I lean a little more in favor of the rights of Texas, and against the claims of Mexico: I think by the law of nations a recognition of independence and the establishment of permanent relations with an insurgent state mean rather more than you allow. But I recognize fully the moderation of its tone. In my epic in six books, nothing is said on the subject, unless by very very remote inference.

The whigs are very, very confident of success. Yet I think the omens less decidedly favorable to them, than they imagine. Here in Massachusetts, which Clay will carry, there will be a vastly diminished majority from that of 1840. Why should it not be the same elsewhere? Another thing impresses me. The *votes are very heavy:* in Connecticut, in Maine, greater numbers go to the polls than ever. This implies a deep interest in the popular mind. One thing more: In 1840 the times were out of joint; the depression was the lever used: and now the times are prosperous.

On the other hand, our friends are a little divided: and I cannot read the influence of the Texas question at the South. The southern whigs will go for Henry Clay without a why or a wherefore. Can our friends be relied on? Calhoun has done much evil in time past: and he may do more.

I hope to hear from you ere long: and am ever, with highest respect very faithfully yours.

[1] Refers to Calhoun's letters to Pakenham.

Van Buren to Bancroft.

Private. Lindenwald, May 8th, 1844.

My dear Sir, — I have not hitherto had time to say how highly I was gratified by the portions of your work which I have seen. In a word the thing could not have been better done, or more to my liking by human power. I am happy to find that you think well of the letter[1] as it respects the force with which the views it expresses are stated. That was all the option I had in the matter. Of the expediency of advancing them, having reference only to the election, there was certainly room for doubt, but that was a consideration which I was not at liberty to embrace. I did it with my eyes fully open to the possible outbreak in the quarter where it has occurred, but I am as well satisfied with my course now as when it was adopted. . . .

Bancroft to Van Buren.

Boston, May 10, 1844.

My dear Sir, — Mrs. Bancroft, I regret to say, is too ill to leave home, having been reduced to great weakness by a fever. She is slowly but regularly recovering, so that I feel at full liberty to leave home; and shall be most happy to visit you on Friday of next week, be the weather as it may, in the train that passes Kinderhook in the afternoon. But if, for any reason, you would prefer that I should come at an earlier day, your summons will bring me "by return mail."

I am very glad the Sketches were satisfactory to you. I have received 1, 2 and 3, but no more. My judgment is lenient towards these: and somewhat lenient towards 4: but at 5, nullification should have been analyzed in its relation to American aristocracy: and 6 is but a meagre sketch, to fill up which would require a volume.

After enjoying the mountain vistas and pleasant scenery of Kinderhook, it is *not* my intention to return to Boston: but to turn towards Washington and spend a day or two with Wright and Benton and Allen and the rest before the work day at Baltimore.

Mrs. B. joins me in best regards. Ever most truly.

Tuesday Morning, [May 21, 1844.]

Buchanan says, and wishes it repeated, so I was told last night, that on his visit to Lancaster he told the delegates, that they owed it to the country, to the State, to themselves, and to him (Buchanan) to vote in convention for you. He adds that he shall be in Baltimore at the Convention to bend all his influence in your favor. If all this is true, and it was stated to me confidently, I will have it from Buck's own lips, within 48 hours. Yours ever.

Astor House on the way to Phil:

[1] On the annexation of Texas.

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

Monday, 8 o'clock P. M.

MY DEAR SIR, — I met Webster at the Astor House. He says that the Texan govt. demanded as preliminary to negotiation in correspondence with Murphy, first, protection at sea pending the negotiation: agreed to: second: two regiments on her border: agreed to: third, in the event of failure of ratification, a guaranty of Texan Independence: referred to Washington to be discussed there on the arrival of Henderson. Further: Almonte, before leaving Washington, sent in a protest and averred that Mexico would regard the ratification of the treaty as a declaration of war.

Thus far Webster. The letter of Calhoun will, I think, have the effect to rouse every man, woman and child on the Texas question. I very much think the peculiar institution will find itself more damaged by the movement, than by ten years' toil of the abolitionists.

Davezac's letter, which you gave me to read I enclose. Best regards to Martin, the Major; and to the Lady Angelica, commend me in all kindness. Yours most truly.

I want a fine fight says Daniel, and a responsible govt. He seemed not to care so much whether you or Clay were to beat.

[Postmarked] New York May 21 (?) [1844].

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

WASHINGTON, May 23, [1844] Thursday.

MY DEAR SIR, — The fever here is very high. I had hardly touched the pavement when I found Rantoul at my side. He was full of the Southern feeling: he was sure they would not go for V. B: but they were very reasonable men, and the North might select: they would adopt any Northern man that was a Texan, be it Cass! or [A. H. H.] Stuart! ! or Heaven save the mark, Levi Woodbury! ! ! Buchanan expresses himself firmly and decidedly for you. This is the account of his friends; and this is the statement of the Tylerites. Connecticut is still uncertain: of Virginia I know not what opinion to form: Beirne says certainly its whole vote will be V. B.; and Drumgoole thinks otherwise. The city is full of disorganizers; and their first, second and third words are, look at Virginia; where [Thomas] Ritchie, and [Spencer] Roane and [Andrew] Stevenson are opposed to him. One Louisiana delegate is in the house with me: he is very furious on the Texas matter: it is his first word and his last; I walked with him for half an hour to mollify him: but he would not be soothed: Texas must immediately become American or will soon be British.

From Old Hickory you will see a fresh letter in the Globe to-night. He writes us in favor of V. B. and POLK: with Polk Tennessee is

safe; without Polk it is gone. And to this the old Hero has set his hand. The letter is not his autograph.

Great pains were taken last night to make up a list of certain and RELIABLE delegates. It was agreed to throw out all doubtful ones and take the safe. The result as voting by states or by votes per capita was as follows:

By states for V. B.		By vote per capita for V. B.	against
Maine	9	8	1
N. H.	8	8	0
Vt.	uncertain	certain of 2	uncertain
R. I	4	4	0
Massachusetts	12	8	4
Connecticut	uncertain	certain of 2	uncertain
N. York	36	36	
N. Jersey		3	uncertain
Pennsylvania	26	certain of 20	
Ohio	23	23	
Indiana	uncertain	certain of 4	
Michigan	0	certain of 2	
Illinois	0	certain of 2	
Missouri	7	6	1
Tennessee	12	certain of 8 or more	
Mississippi	6	4	
Alabama	0	2	
N. Carolina	11	6	5
Voting by States	154 per capita	148	

Thus eleven states are counted upon for you on the first ballot with certainty, giving 154, 138 being a majority; and if they vote per capita the number of votes is at least 148. This number may be increased. To meet this state of the case, the disorganizers demand that a nomination shall be made only by a two-thirds vote. For this they can unfortunately plead precedents of some weight, in former national conventions and in this congress in the caucus for nominating Speaker and Printer. On this the battle will turn: and the point may be severely contested. But I think we shall put a face on things before Monday, that will make secession an unpopular affair altogether: and I think the apprehension of division will favor union. Petrikin of Pa. writes letters full of zeal.

Never let any body say Mr. V. B. has no friends. There are some here to refute that. A great movement is apparent. Medary is confident of Ohio. In haste, yours most truly.

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

Friday, May 24 [1844.]

MY DEAR SIR, — In my letter yesterday, I sent you Medary's statement of votes certain for V. B. on the first ballot. From what I have since observed, I think he was entirely in error about Mississippi; and somewhat in error as to North Carolina, of which the vote is probable, not certain.

Meantime the other side will insist on adopting the rules of 1832 and 1835 and 1840, requiring two thirds to nominate, and will secede if they are not adopted. I doubt if a majority will refuse to adopt them: the demand seeming so plausible. If they do adopt them, we are waterlogged at once, and if they do not, secession is menaced; and if effected will produce a very ill result.[1]

The whigs for once are delighted with Benton. He rules the Senate on the Texas debate, and the whigs gladly shelter themselves under his shadow. His speech they are circulating very widely; and whatever Benton's intentions were, it inures very much to the benefit of Clay. Yesterday [George] McDuffie made a masterly effort for annexation.

The feeling in favor of annexation is among the Northern men, very wide and strong: it is an issue they generally would not shrink from. I can as yet see no daylight. I do not so much fear cabals against the proper nomination, as I do, that they may make that nomination of no value.

I am interrupted and must close. Faithfully yours.

VAN BUREN TO BANCROFT.

LINDENWALD, July 3d., 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, — The kindness of friends has kept me not a little employed since your affair at Baltimore, and I have, of course, made it a rule to attend to those last upon whose indulgence I could rely the most. I am sure, I have not erred in placing Mrs. B. and yourself first on the latter list, and of course towards the end on the other. Mrs. B's solicitude does me much honor, and furnishes perhaps better evidence of the demerit of the doings of the Convention than any which has been produced. When she and Mrs. Genl. Howard condemn, who will venture to approve? She is, however, I am sure, too good a Democrat not to rejoice heart and hand in the support of the nominees whose hands are clean, and whose success is of vital importance to the country. That they will succeed I have not the slightest doubt. In this State, unless we get into a destructive snarl about our Govr. (which I

[1] The two-thirds rule was adopted, and Van Buren was set aside for James K. Polk.

do not anticipate) our success will be very great. It is not possible that our friends could be more zealous. The proceedings at Baltimore seems to have aroused their pride to the highest pitch, and they are determined to shew the south that they do not calculate in respect to their duty when their principles are at stake.

Mr. Wright and Mr. Flagg were both intent upon the immediate publication of the Sketches, but I had no difficulty in satisfy[ing] Mr. W., on shewing him your letter, of their error. If you have a spare copy, or will lend me yours in the winter, I will make the notes you suggest. Mr. Wright left the 5th and 6th Chapters with me. I at one time designed to mention to you the circumstance of my having written to Mr. Butler,[1] but as I had many friends of long standing and great fidelity in our Delegation, and as I had not informed any of them, nor even Mr. Wright, of what I had done, I thought it would be best to keep myself in a situation to say that I had made no distinctions among my friends further than was indispensable. My desire and hope was that the nomination might in some proper way come to Mr. Wright, and one object of the letter was to facilitate that result, if things should at any time incline in that direction. . . .

Bancroft to Van Buren.

Boston, Sept. 6, 1844.

My dear Sir, — I have occasion to send a note to your son; and being uncertain where he is at this moment, I enclose the letter to you.

The mails last night brought in the news of Mr. Wright's nomination for governor; a movement which leaves no room to doubt the election of Mr. Polk: a result which will be mainly attributable to your own magnanimity and the fidelity of your friends to their principles. This, I believe, is understood in Tennessee. No sooner had the nominations at Baltimore become known, than a mass of details was committed to paper, and with a regular series of documents was transmitted to me *with a summons by a letter from Gen. Jackson himself* for me to prepare a biography of Mr. Polk. You cannot doubt as to my answer: but to prevent any misunderstanding I wrote also to Mr. P. himself.[2] He promptly replied; and expressing contentment with my categorical decision, he added, "Towards Mr. Van Buren both personally and politically my feelings have always been of the most friendly character; and there is no man, to whom I was prepared to give a more cordial support, if he had been the candidate of the party. His magnanimous and zealous support of the nominations which *were* made, is characteristic of the man, and places me under lasting obligations to

[1] The letter authorizing him to withdraw his name in Convention.

[2] In the margin Bancroft wrote "For yourself alone."

him." This was written in July; and I have no doubt speaks his mind sincerely.

The summer's work gives room for reflection. You have no idea how philosophically tranquil I have become. My first activity in the political field dates from your entrance upon national life; and I look back upon the years with almost the calmness with which I could contemplate another man's experience. For me they have been years of toil and strife, yet made happy in the retrospect from the abiding conviction that adhesion to your advancement, your administration and your measures, was but obedience to the great principles in which the peculiar glory of our country must rest. And as during those ten or twelve years not a doubt crossed my mind to embarrass my decision, so now the reminiscence is unclouded.

I beg my kindest regards to your sons, and to the lady Angelica. Ever with affectionate respect yours.

P. S. The suppressed epic, of which I shall in a few days send you a copy for annotation, I intend to make somewhat better by the opportunity of revision.

VAN BUREN TO BANCROFT.

Private. LINDENWALD, Nov. 28, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR, — Accept my thanks for your interesting and kind letter. The rush of unsound men for the loaves and fishes, of which you give so full a description, is the natural consequence of the character of the contest, or rather the way the nomination was produced, and the nature of portions of the support which it received. It is what I predicted to my friends before the election and cannot be avoided. Every man who has ever borne the name of Democrat, however, numerous and unprincipled his desertions, will repair to Washington, claiming to stand upon an equal footing with the best, and professing and exercising more assurance than the most virtuous and consistent of the Democracy. Mr. Polk will have an oppressive time of it. With the very best intentions and respectable talents he will scarcely be able to give satisfaction. That he may, is my earnest and constant prayer, and if he does, he will be entitled to the greatest credit, for his case is a difficult one. I very much doubt whether it is possible for any man who is unexpectedly, and in the opinion of many, prematurely called to the head of affairs, to meet the public expectation. We have tried it twice in this State, and in each case with a signal failure. We must, however, hope for the best. Neither with the making of the Cabinet nor the other appointments to office can I have any thing to do further than to testify to individual merit, when able, and asked to do so. My friends in this State will cheerfully and promptly give advice, if asked

but I know enough of those whose counsel would be most useful to know that they will not obtrude it unasked. . . .

Bancroft to Van Buren.

Boston Dec. 3, 1844.

My dear Sir, — On receiving your kind and excellent letter, I wended my way to the good Commodore's: and found him confined to his house. His heart leaped at the message and he proposed only a delay. He eats no meat, drinks no wine, but keeps body and soul together on soup and water and roasted apples.

Since I wrote you, Fairfield [1] has taken the field for the Navy Department under Polk. He has the voice of the Governor and Council and in January will be re-elected to the Senate; after which, I think, he will console himself, though the Commodore should have to look to another chief. Fairfield is honestly inclined, free from the accursed spirit of intrigue, amiable, fair-minded, but not of powerful intellect.

I send today by the express a copy of the little work,[2] which put you so soundly to sleep when I was at your house in May. It is interleaved, that matters may be inserted there by you for my use. There is no longer any need of limiting statements to what can be proved by documents: but the recollections of yourself and friends may be freely used, because to be narrative will now (not being published in a party contest) have authority of itself. The three first chapters I still think well of. The three last are imperfect. I find myself in my solitary walks often chewing the cud of the incidents of later years; and am hoping to get a clear and comprehensive view of the whole. I have not yet completed in my mind the analysis of the adverse influence; but have it constantly in my thoughts. I wish it were possible for you to transfer your experience into my mind; and I wish I could have two souls at work at once, one in active life and the other among my books.

You may suppose that our last contest wrought the whigs of Massachusetts up to unusual frenzy. Meantime I keep quietly at my work, and leave folly to run riot; I never had so many fools busy in inventing absurd and paltry calumnies. At the election I obtained about two thousand votes more than the electoral ticket; and in each congressional district kept ahead of the members of Congress. But here my candidateship must stop. It is possible Polk may call for my services

[1] John Fairfield, governor of Maine.

[2] This biographical sketch, prepared as a campaign issue and therefore confessedly partial and incomplete, was published by Bancroft in 1889, under the title "Martin Van Buren to the end of his Public Career." In the preface Bancroft states that he makes "no change that could affect Van Buren's approval of it as thoroughly correct." It is only just to say that as a biography it is well nigh useless.

in some suitable line; if he should not, I shall go on as before. The Sketch, which I send you, I shall not publish, till the asperity towards me shall have somewhat subsided. Then a time will come when it will be well received; and I assure you, there has been no moment of your life, when I was so willing to add a stone to the memorial of your name as now; both because the effort will now escape cavil as being interested, and, better, because I think you never stood before the world in a nobler attitude. You have had a chance to show new virtues; and though some of us, who thought themselves not destitute of your hearty esteem, may have cause to regret your present position, I think your own fame like that of Washington's soldiers at Newburgh, would want its completeness but for your conduct in this latest act. Ever with affectionate respect.

P. S. The interleaved Book please return me about April next; I hope greatly enriched by notes or by annexed papers.

P. P. S. In your library you have the Life of Grattan: handsomely bound with gilt edges. If any pilgrim comes from Lindenwald, will you lend it me for a month or two?

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, Jan. 22, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — Do not have any one take the trouble to send keys from Charleston. When at your house, I took minutes of what I needed most from the life of Grattan.

Have you noticed our Boston municipal elections? Mr. Webster put an engine on the whig track, that has run away with the party. The Natives abjure aristocracy, and rail quite like agitators against the Beacon Street dictation. The end at this time will be their triumph: and perhaps a triumph in Boston will encourage them to "persevere."

Mr. Webster goes back to the Senate. He goes in triumph, having won his place from somewhat reluctant friends. But that is not all: there are no more Ashburton treaties to make; no more offices to distribute. Credit is low: business dull. Who except Silas Wright can afford to be a Senator without a subsidy? So the good people of Boston have contributed, or are contributing (the thing is nearly finished) a *fund* of *one hundred thousand dollars*, of which the income is to go to Webster and after him to his wife [1] if she survives him, in other words a pension of six thousand a year is conferred on the great expounder for two lives. I think the thing has novelty. It marks an era. Abbot Lawrence as yet refuses to subscribe.

The whigs here are dreadfully savage even yet. They moan one day, and rave the next; now whining, now mad. They are getting

[1] At her death the fund reverts to the subscribers.—*Note by Bancroft.*

a little too barbarous for my taste; indulging in rancour, hatred and uncharitableness.

But why should I regard it? Interrupted greatly last winter and spring and summer, I am this winter as regular as possible in my daily task. I find it necessary to make use of every hour favorable to labor. In this way I am making some progress towards sending you a volume in a month or two. But for this I should have come unbidden upon you with or without the Commodore.

One word on politics. A month ago or more, my name was connected in the papers with Governor Marcy's as a candidate for the Treasury. I laughed at the thought, till I got a letter from Marcy. I took for granted, that Polk would look to New York for a nomination to that post. Getting reason to think some of the smaller order were writing from excess of zeal, as if in my behalf, I promptly caused it to be said, that the solicitations were on my part unauthorized; and while those who came to me to teaze from me letters to Mr. Polk for their own claims were invariably refused. I left them to state that I was not among the aspirants for a seat in the Cabinet.[1] Thus it stood and thus it stands. Meantime Fairfield has been re-elected to the Senate, is contended, and his friends now propose to withdraw his name. One of them, Rawson, will probably go to see you; Gov. Anderson wrote to me himself, and added a wish to see me in the field.

All this I communicate, because I thought you would like to have me keep you informed of the little, that comes to my knowledge. I may add to you, that the place is not desired by me, as I very frankly told Governor Marcy. But I wish to know, what is desired in New York (not about myself, about the men in New York,) that if I am asked any opinions, they may not clash with the opinions of those who I think should guide. The resuscitation of Webster secures to the Whigs the ascendancy here for some time to come.

By the way! Have you heard of the marvellous condescension of your friend L. Woodbury? He is really so condescending as to think, that if New England cannot be better represented in the cabinet, he will be Mr. Polk's Secretary of State. It took me some time to believe this.

Of the Cabinet I think no one here knows anything. I have heard [Andrew] Stevenson, [Robert J.] Walker, and [Robert] Armstrong[2]

[1] Polk, in his Cabinet perplexities, did consider Bancroft a fit man for the Treasury, and so wrote to Van Buren. As New York could reasonably expect to receive one of the two leading positions in the Cabinet — the State or the Treasury — and as Buchanan was slated for the State Department, the suggestion of giving the Treasury to a Massachusetts man and to Bancroft, came as a great surprise to Van Buren, and closed all future recommendations from that source. New York, in Marcy, as Secretary of War, was given the third place.

[2] Of Tennessee.

named; as if with something of authority. I doubt as yet. Ever with affectionate respect.

Mr. Wright's message was too long. He should write what can be copied into many newspapers.

VAN BUREN TO BANCROFT.

Private. LINDENWALD, January 30, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — I return you the letters of our friends with thanks. I am not at liberty to say any thing to you upon the subject to which they relate, and particularly desirous not to be understood as knowing any thing that is not common to others — with absolute certainty, I do not. But the *guess* of one of our friends satisfies me that they are without information upon the subject in that quarter, not that it may not *in part* turn out to be correct. Your correspondents are two of the best Fellows in the whole Country, and the present Gov. a man of more talents and higher points of character than any suppose. When you informed me only the other day that you had been informed that he was taking steps in behalf of an unreliable man for a high place, I knew you had been misinformed and intended to have written you to that effect. Of all the people I had intercourse with *in Congress* from your section he stands with me No. 1. The *suggestion* he makes, and in which one of my particular friends is referred to, is a very sound one, and had occurred to another before that other saw his letter. It can, however, I fear, only succeed in the event of a *continued* and zealous contest between the parties actually in the field, or their friends, and an unwillingness to decide between them. *Local* circumstances, will, I apprehend, prevent the adoption of that suggestion in any other condition of things. In the course of time you may know that ample justice has been done and in the right quarter to the character and pretensions of that particular friend, and in a form, which, if inoperative now, may not be without effect hereafter. I always receive your letters with pleasure, and hope you will write often. This ambiguous style is very disagreeable to me, but in the present case a duty. . . .

P. S. I am well satisfied that the P. elect goes to Washington with the most upright intentions. How far the Intriguers will be able to bamboozle him remains to be seen. I have, however, strong hopes that their success will not be great in that way, but it is not an easy matter to resist them.

Bancroft to Van Buren.

Boston, February 11, 1845.

Private, for *Mr. V. B. alone.*

My dear Sir, — The enclosed letter will explain itself.[1] Have the goodness to return it me at Washington, under enclosure to Col. Dix.

I count on your regard so much as to look to you for a word on the subject, that seems hinted at. The letter took me by surprise; and its purport is to me not perfectly clear, though I think there is an opening. My letter was simply one of congratulation, on Jan. 1, declining any advice, and wishing him all prosperity, a simple, quiet letter, designed to lead him *not* to think of me; and designed also to prevent persons quoting my name to him, as Anderson's was to me. To Mr. Polk I said plainly that his election was due to your magnanimity, and to the self-sacrificing spirit of Silas Wright. Ever with affectionate respect.

Van Buren to Bancroft.

Confidential. Lindenwald, February 15, 1845.

My dear Sir, — As the matter will be fully explained to you nearly or quite as soon as you receive this, it is hardly worth while to speculate on the enclosed. It may mean only for advice, but taken in connection with the spirit of an other communication of the same date, and other matters referred to in my last to you, I allow myself to hope that it is intended to go farther. Your course is plain in any event, which is to give all the aid you can in any honorable way. I do not know that I can make any useful suggestions to you beyond what has already been done to others. The ground taken by the President elect, not [to] lend himself in any degree to personal aspirations, and to act as the President of the nation (with proper qualifications upon the general sense of that term) is in the highest degree commendable. Care should however be taken to advance the latter idea in such measured and well considered terms in the Inaugural as not to offend the sensibilities of his friends, naturally high strung after such a contest as we have passed through, and with such an opponent. The Democracy have moreover been so shockingly disgusted, and sore irritated by the monstrous insincerity of all similar professions on the part of their opponents, and also on the part of many, now their associates, but recently their opponents, as to make it necessary to handle this subject with great caution for fear of planting suspicions in the minds of honest men who have no other objects in politics than the good of the Country, to see their cause manfully sustained, and an unscrupulous opposition properly rebuked. These suggestions are aimed, not at the principle, but the mode of treat-

[1] Offer of the Navy Department.

ing it, when first introduced, to which more is due than is generally supposed. It appears to me very plain that if the Texas matter is to be the subject of negotiation, the Sec^{y} of State should come from the free states. The reasons in favour of this, having reference to the location of the President elect, are too plain to require to be stated. God forbid that I should cherish a desire to meddle (gratuitously) with the selection of the Cabinet, but situated as I am in this respect, and as one at a distance is in a better condition to judge coolly than him who is in the furnace, I feel myself at liberty to make to you another suggestion or two which you can drop in, if you are placed in a situation to render it safe and proper to do so. I hope sincerely that Mr. Polk may be able to make a selection for Penn. which shall upon the whole be reasonably satisfactory to the friends of the Senator and Vice President. Should that be found impossible and he find it necessary to drop the persons desired by them respectively and take one occupying something of a neutral position, it seems to me at this distance that the *present* Atty. Genl. of that State, and correspondent of Mr. Polk upon the subject of the Tariff occupies a very eligible position, and he is besides a very safe man. In respect to the office of Sec^{y} of the Treasury, it is of the very first importance to have one whom the community unite in believing to be an honest man. No one, unless he has the fullest experience, can have an adequate idea of the importance of this in that particular Department, and that for reasons which will readily suggest themselves to a mind like yours.

With Major Donelson, of Tennessee, you are not sufficiently acquainted to appreciate his merits. *He is fit for any thing in this Govnt.* Be assured that there is no exaggeration in this. I would have made him a member of the Cabinet, if his modesty had not prevented it.

In Genl. Dix you will have a safe counsellor. You know that in his judgment, purity and discretion, we place unlimited confidence. Let me also advise you to cultivate the acquaintance of Mr. Blair. I doubt whether you know his worth. There is not a sounder, more honest, or more able man in Washington, and I may add none capable of wielding a greater influence. You will acquit me I think of the habit of saying extravagant things, and I express myself thus strongly in this case to enable you to overcome prepossessions in respect to this gentleman, which are prevalent and not unnatural. I have tried and know him, and am pleased to find that he has fallen in love with our friend Dix. In all you do and say have reference to the consideration that the agitating questions of the incoming administration are as of [*two or three lines torn off*] as you Yankees used to say. The domestic questions, which turned the Country topsy turvy during the Genl's and my administration, are either obsolete, or have lost their disturbing qualities by the length of time they have been discussed, or the extent to which

they have been decided upon by the people. In managing these (the Foreign), too much care cannot be taken to save us from a war, in respect to which the opposition shall be able to charge with plausibility if not truth, that it is waged for the extension of slavery. The dread of a war, undertaken for national objects, and necessary to the national honor and interests, ought not to have the weight of a feather in controuling the action of a statesman. But before one, plainly of the character I have referred to, the Democracy of the Free States would, I very much fear, be driven to the sad alternative of turning their backs upon their friends, or of encountering political suicide with their eyes open. Whilst, therefore, we perform to the uttermost the duties of political fraternity to our southern allies, according to our known principles, it behooves us as well as them to eschew all counsels, which shall unnecessarily involve us in such an issue.

Write me as often as you have leisure. Destroy this letter, and I will do the same with yours. I see by the letter writers that [*torn.*]

Van Buren to Bancroft.

Albany, March 1st, 1845.

My dear Sir, — I congratulate you very sincerely on the distinguished honor which is about to be conferred upon you, and my friend, Mrs. B. also. The position in which she will be placed will be the more gratifying after the manner in which you have been persecuted at Boston by those who ought to have been above such meanness. You will have associated with you from this State one, of whose *entire soundness* no question ever has or ever can be made; with whom it will be a particular pleasure to you to be associated, and from whose joint labours with your own I anticipate great good to the cause and to the Country. Having received direct information of what was decided upon in regard to yourself (not alluding to your letter) I have taken care to guard my *informant* against the objections that will be raised on the score of your being a literary and not a *practical* man, by which I was so often pestered, by giving him an account of the manner in which you discharged the duties of Collector etc, and told him more fully what he may expect from you. Keep cool and uncommitted on the subject of offices, for you can say nothing that will not be misconstrued by greedy aspirants. Remember me very kindly to Mrs. B. and believe me, very truly yours.

Van Buren to Bancroft.

Albany, March 7, 1845.

My dear Sir, —. . . As I could not, if I had the strength, say any thing that would gratify you, it is best to say as little as possible. Although not permitted to have a particle of real bona fide influence

in regard to what has been done in respect to this State at Washington, we understand it all perfectly well, better than we wish we did, and see in it matters which for the present at least should be buried in our own bosoms. The injury done to Mr. Wright, and the Democracy of the State by the decision of Mr. Polk, consists in its influence to infuse new life into a faction bent upon his overthrow, which was fast, dwindling away, and which but for this windfall, could not have kept itself on foot six months. This was all that those out of this State, who have laboured to bring it about, and have to our knowledge been engaged in it since Jan^{y} last, expected or desired. It is an evil which neither civil words nor the disposition of patronage can repair and which, under the circumstances, nothing can justify. But enough of this. One word in regard to yourself. You will be surrounded by difficult circumstances. Suppress the ardor of your temperament. Keep cool, stand aloof from all scheme and intrigues of which you will soon see abundance. Let your course be distinguished by a singleness of devotion to the duties of your Department, and the time will come when you will find an advantage from this course beyond what is the ordinary reward of virtuous actions. Very truly your friend.

BANCROFT TO VAN BUREN.

April 14, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — Following your advice, I have quietly devoted myself to my duty, which is arduous enough, and take as little share in the distribution of office as is consistent with fidelity to my tried friends.

The Brooklyn Navy Yard and Dry Dock come under my supervision. The superintendent, Mr. Neil, I have dismissed; and sent Sanger, who is in the employ of the Govt., and is very competent to do the work.

The chief assistant Engineer remains to be selected, as I do not design to retain the present one, and I wish to appoint a New Yorker. Shall it [be] McAlpine, or shall it be O'Sullivan's brother?

McAlpine presents himself environed by the warm recommendations of your nearest friends.

But would not those friends even more desire to do a kind office to O'Sullivan?

I write to you, for your word will be to me decisive. O'Sullivan I know and cherish: you have few firmer, more disinterested, more enduring friends. His brother I hear extolled, and believe him unsurpassed for the place.

McAlpine is near me, as your friend, and the friend of your friend.

Many reasons exist, why O'Sullivan should receive an act of kindness at our hands: as strong reasons exist, why MacAlpine, if your friend, should command my influence.

Help me to a decision, and let your son John be a party to it.[1] Faithfully, with affectionate respect.

Bancroft to Van Buren.

Washington, May 5, 1845.

My dear Sir, — I might feel embarrassment at writing to you to-night, were not personal affection and the public interest so entirely united in what I am going to say.

The critical state of the relations with England render the mission to that country, always the highest foreign station, now of peculiar and the gravest importance. The British minister at this place has, it is true, full powers to negotiate a settlement of the Oregon Question: and the affair is proceeding in a manner that will, I am sure, obtain your approbation. But the excited condition of the English mind and the feeling manifested by the ministry, render it essential that the envoy to the Court of St. James should be foremost among the first men of the land for experience, previous high station, acknowledged dignity and weight of character, ability and influence; and the President and the unanimous voice of the cabinet have singled you out for that station.

The President does me the honor to make me the organ of communicating to you his earnest wish on this subject. He was preparing to write to you himself, but I begged to be permitted to make the communication to you. My affection prompted me to this; for I could mingle more of private views with all that is public in this very important proposition.

It is true, that some weeks ago, and before the Oregon question became a grave one, Mr. Polk had tendered this mission to South Carolina. What his motives were for this, you can surmise as well as I. But I, who knew the relations of many of your personal friends towards Mr. Calhoun, and had seen the President resolutely omit to place Mr. Calhoun in his cabinet, confess that I thought well of this resolution. But since the jealousy with England has occurred, I have reasoned that public considerations must outweigh all others; and have found myself in harmony with the President and others in thinking that you are the man, to bear the olive branch across the Atlantic.

You have been President. A greater reason for your selection. You would assuredly represent the country. In Europe the prime ministers are always selected on such occasions. Witness Metternich to Napoleon; Guizot lately to England; and Talleyrand, Marshal

[1] Van Buren declined to interfere in behalf of O'Sullivan, having already commended McAlpin through his son, Smith T. Van Buren.

Soult and others. On great occasions the highest men are to be taken; where war is to be averted, none but the highest.

I must quote your own avowed opinion also. Mr. Butler told me, that you had expressed to him that in your view an Ex-President could be honorably employed in a foreign mission. It was not till since the Oregon difficulty occurred, that I have repeated this remark of Mr. Butler's; and added the belief which he will confirm to you, that he joins me in the hope of your accepting the mission to England. We are your affectionate friends, and we entreat that you will do so. The President eagerly and earnestly proposed his wish to see you in that station, on the first moment, that he became persuaded of your receiving the suggestion as a subject for your consideration and deliberate decision.

The country would witness your acceptance of the post with unanimous satisfaction. It would be taken as evidence that American rights and the peace of the world are both to be maintained. The joy of the nation would be unmingled; and what right have you to withhold yourself from rendering most essential service to the continuance of peace and the happiness of mankind?

You once were in England and were rejected by a faction. What poetical justice in returning there with the undivided acclamations of the country!

You owe it to your country to go. Let me add, you owe it to yourself. You love society; from the station you have filled you would appear in England as our first man, and would be welcomed to all that there is there of refinement, and hospitality.

The expense would be considerable; but the outfit and salary and your private income would place at your easy disposal twenty thousand a year for a couple of years. If you chose to remain a less time, the proportion would be greater. If you remained longer, the expense would somewhat diminish. Do you laugh as you read this? The lady Angelica and I have reasoned it out, that your personal happiness for life will be improved by an excursion to England, and if you doubt, ask Mr. Butler, or ask the lady herself.

It is due to Mr. Polk to say, that if I write this letter to you instead of the President, it is at my personal solicitation. His own mind has been firm in its desire of seeing you in the post proposed, from the first moment that the state of public affairs led any of us to think that your services might properly be demanded in the name of the country. What more can I say? If any thing can be added to make the suggestion agreeable to you, you may safely consider it as uttered by the President, and reiterated by every member of his cabinet.[1] With most affectionate respect, yours ever.

[1] Van Buren declined. See Howe, Life and Letters of George Bancroft.

Remarks were made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, and EDWIN D. MEAD.

After the adjournment of the Society the members present and a large number of invited guests were entertained at lunch, in Ellis Hall, by the PRESIDENT.

DIARIES OF REV. WILLIAM SMITH AND DR. COTTON TUFTS, 1738–1784.

AT the March meeting[1] announcement was made of a gift from Mr. Charles Francis Adams of twelve interleaved almanacs, of which ten had been kept by the Rev. William Smith, pastor of the Second Church at Weymouth, 1734–1783. His daughter, Abigail, married, in 1764, John Adams, and a second daughter, Mary, married Judge Richard Cranch. A selection of entries is now printed, as they preserve some historical incidents and not a little genealogical matter relating to Weymouth. The destruction of the Meeting House in 1751, the remarkable epidemic of the "throat distemper" in the same year, and the noting of fast days in the war of 1755–1763 belong to the first class of subjects. What remains pictures the life of a clergyman of that time, with his weekly round of duties, his self-questioning and thankfulness for strength derived from divine assistance. He had a regular duty to his parish, varied by an occasional exchange of pulpits with one of his brethren, a still rarer ministers' meeting, and an exceptional call to take part in an ordination service or to preach before the magistrates. This feature of the entries is supplemented by some references to the farming ventures which were inseparable from the office, and matters of casual interest in the social activity of the place. The chief utility of such records is to determine dates and to mark the round of duties and pleasures which made the life of the time; and local, as they are, they contain much that would escape notice in a formal history.

The two almanacs of 1772 and 1784 were kept by Dr. Cotton Tufts, a prominent physician of Weymouth, and one of the founders of the Massachusetts Medical Society, serving as its President from 1787 to 1795. He married Lucy, the daughter of Col. John Quincy, and thus the aunt of Mrs. John Adams.

[1] See *ante*, 171

Diaries of Rev. William Smith.

1738.

[On fly leaves.]

Borrowed of Mr Jones 4 bushels of Lime

Lent Mr Badlam 268 foot of Plank.

Ap. 7. 1738, bought of Joseph Porter one hundred and half of Rails 2/5 ℔ C £3. 7. 6

Bought 130 Posts of Chris. £5. 5. 0

Bought of Deacon Waterman 40 Rails £1. 10. 0

Bought of Ebenezr Porter 100 Rails

April 22 Bought for mrs S[haw] a pan £1 Biscuit 2/. starch 1

Bought of Sister Austin 5 Dozen of Bottles, not paid for 12[d] ℔ B £3.

Corks 10 Dozen 10[s]

Paid Mr. Willis for Boating up Rails and posts £1

Bought of Mr. Austin a Jack 3. 10

Ap. 6. 1738 Gave Thomas Porter £3 by way of Charity.

1737. gave Mr. White £1. gave Mr Kembal. £1

May. gave £1. to Charity uses.

1738 Gave mr. Gay's Son. £1. Augt. 3.

January 2. Went to Charlestown. Re[turne]d 10

3. Went to Marblehd for the Ordonation of Mr. Bradstreet.[1]

8. I p[reache]d at Charlestown all day.

9. paid Mr Edw[ar]ds £15. R[eceive]d of Mr. Trumbal for ye deacon £5.

11. Hingham Lecture Mr Ells[2] p[reache]d. Mr. Taylor[3]

12. Went to Mr. Holbrooks Entertaint.

15. I p[reache]d.

18. Went to Abington with Mr Pittee. R[eturne]d 19.

20. By the kind assis[tance] of h[eave]n Su[preme] End. to S[hun] ye ap[pearance] of E[vil] and become rel.[4]

22. I p[reache]d Mr Pain[5] here.

29. p[reache]d at Abbington by Exch[ange] with D: Brown.[6]

30. dind at Mr. Pittes with Mr Brown.

31. Examind Mr Hunts maid.

[1] Simon Bradstreet (–1771) succeeded the Rev. Edward Holyoke at Marblehead. The charge on this occasion was given by the Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead.

[2] Nathaniel Eells. — Deane, History of Scituate, 197.

[3] Probably John Taylor, of Milton.

[4] The pen is run through this entry.

[5] Probably Thomas Paine, at one time minister at Weymouth, now a merchant in Boston.

[6] Samuel Brown.

February 5. p[reache]d at Weym[outh] Sacramt Day.

12. I p[reache]d.

14. Went to Charlsto[w]n by reason of a Sore Throat returnd 3 of March.

19. Mr Pell[1] of boston p[reache]d fm Sat. to Mond. to be Deducted.

26. Mr. Rand[2] p[reache]d fm Satd. to Monday to be Deducted.

March. Pd Mrs Hunt 2/6 for a pound of butter upon Deacon's acct.

3. Re[turne]d fm C[harles]Town.

5. I p[reache]d.

12. I p[reache]d.

13. Lent Deacon Shaw £10 Re[ceive]d £10

16. Married Thomas Kingman to Mary Burrell.

19. P[reache]d Mr Nightingal fm 3 C[orinthians] 15 P M 5 Mat. ult. be ye perfect as — Baptiz'd Elisha Jones ye son of Isaac Jones.

19. preachd to a Society of young men at Mr Nyles[3] Parish. a very numerous auditory there

22. Went to Boston; re[turne]d 25 Bought Sewet for ye Deacon £0. 18. 0 To wheat 16.

26 I p[reache]d

April. Ap: 2. Sold the Deacon 2 barrels of Cider, which is Unpaid. p b. 1. 3 £2: 6: 0

The Decon bought a Gallon of wine for me Cost. 15 Shillings.

2. Sacram: Day. I p[reache]d Mr Porter[4] here. By ye D[ivine] ass[istance] p[articularly] to shun men. Baptiz'd James ye son of James Richard they ownd the Cov[enant].

9. I p[reache]d.

13. Fast day I p[reache]d.

16. P[reache]d at Hull.

18. Went to Boston by water with Jno Bick. returnd 22.

23. I p[reache]d.

25. Went to Boston.[5]

27. Planted 60 Apple Trees at my Farm, to the South of ye house.

30. I p[reache]d at Hingham Mr Hancok[6] here.

May 2. Went to Boston Re[turne]d 5.

7. I p[reache]d Catechisd ye C[ongregatio]n.

14. I p[reache]d.

15. Precinct meeting bought the Parsonage house for 45£.

[1] Edward Pell (1711–1752), first pastor of the south precinct of Harwich, organized in 1747. — Freeman, History of Cape Cod, ii. 516 *n.*

[2] William Rand, of Sunderland.

[3] Samuel Niles (1674–1762) was at this time in charge of the Second Church of Braintree.

[4] Samuel Porter, of Sherborn.

[5] The pen was run through this entry.

[6] John Hancock. — Pattee, Old Braintree and Quincy, 216.

17. went to Boston Re[turne]d 20 Mr Humphrey's horse.

21. Mr Adams preachd all Day.

25. My horse went fm the Deacons to Mr Nichols.

28. I p[reache]d Baptizd Hanna the Daughter of John Reed.

29. Went to Boston by water Re[turne]d fm hingh[am] Re-[turne]d 2 June.

Rye 14. Wheat 16. and 18

June. Pittes Bond 19 June: 1738 for an 100£.

4. Sacramt Day. Mr Troop[1] p[reache]d for me half ye day fm Set yr affections upon the things yt are above. Recd. into Chh. 4 day. the wife of James Whitmarch, the wife of Mathew Prat, the wife of Samll King, Mary Badlam, Mary Hunt, Isaac Lovel. Bapd. David ye son of [*blank*] Bates.

8. At Abbington with Mr. Torey. bought his house and Land 8d.

11. I p[reache]d.

12. To Boston on Jones mare. Re[turne]d 14

18. P[reache]d at Mr. hubards.[2]

22. Marryd John Hayward to Silence White. Marryd Isaac Smith to Sarah Hollis.

25. P[reache]d Weym[outh]. Bapd. Wm. ye son of Wm Prat, Elathiah ye Dr. of Nathan Blanchar

27. My horse R[eturne]d fm Nichols. Gave 5 p w[eek] £1.

30. Sent my horse to Mr. Frenches, gave me ye keeping for a fortnight.

July. Lent the Deacon for Salt.

2. I p[reache]d.

3. To Boston Re[turne]d 8: by water with Mr Prat.

5. Bought a Calimanco Jacket.

7. Bought half a pd. of Chocolate: /6 for ye Deacon.

9. Mr. Hunt p[reache]d: I p[reache]d at Hingham.

My h[orse] took fm Mr. F[rench] ye 12.

16. I p[reache]d. Bapd Nathaniel ye son of Mathew Prat. Joshua ye Son of Joshua Bates.

23. I p[reache]d Baptizd Bettee the Daughter of Samll Prat Junr.

30. I p[reache]d at Mr. [John] Hancock's.

31. went to Boston Re[turne]d 3 of Augt.

August 6. Sacrament day I p[reache]d. Recd Into Church, Jonathan French Sarah Sergeant and Bethiah Whitman.

13. I p[reache]d. Bapd Persis ye Daughter of Wm Bates.

20. Bapd Samll ye son of Samll Kingman I p[reache]d.

23. went to Boston, re[turne]d 26 my horse at ye Deacons ye whole week.

[1] Probably Benjamin Throop, of Norwich, Connecticut.

[2] Jonathan Hubbard, of Sheffield.

25. Bought a pair of Breeches of mr Storey £4. 15. 3
making 15 0
£5 10 3

27. I p[reache]d.

September 3. I p[reache]d.

4. Mr Gay[1] and I set out for new haven. The first night we Lodgd at Mr Greenwoods, ye second, at Mr Mumford's, ye 3 at Mr Williams a Tavern in Stonington, the 4 at Mr Parsons at Lime. ye 5 at Mr Ruggles at Guilford the 6 at Mr Goulds at Stratford.

4. Went fm ye Deacons Returnd 19. 2 Days to be deducted. Mr. Gay and I in our journey spend abt 6 £.

10. Mr Wales[2] p[reache]d [I] p[reache]d at Mr Goulds in Connecticut.

17. Mr Marsh[3] p[reache]d.

24. I [preache]d Baptiz'd Ruth the D[augh]ter of Sam. Hunt.

26. Fast at Mr. Bowmans. Mr. Bayley[4] p[reache]d fm 59 Isa 21. Mr [John] Hancock fm 5 [17] Mat. 21. This kind goeth not out, but by p[ray]er and Fasting. To Boston returnd 30.

30. Paid my Brother Isaac £5.

October [1]. Sacr[amen]t Day. I p[reache]d.

7. p[ai]d Mr. Loud 30.

8. Mr. Nightengale p[reache]d. I p[reache]d at Mr Hubards.

11. P[reache]d at Mr. [Jonathan] Hubards Fast. Mr. [Barnabas] Taylor p[reache]d fm ye 3 John I wish above all things thou mayest be in health and prosper[ity].

15. P[reache]d at Weym[outh] Baptizd Eber, ye son of Capt. Hunt, James the son of James Whitmarsh, Abner ye son of Nathaniel Ford.

18. The goodn[ess] of G[o]d. Lead me to R.

22. Bapd Abigail the Daughtr of Samll Prat, hanna the Daug. of Joseph Ford.

22. Mr Whitm[arsh] p[reache]d fm 3 Phil. 10.

24. went to Charles. re[turne]d 26.

26. Sent £10 by Dom Cotton.

29. I p[reache]d.

November. Bought 2 Bushels of Turnips 6s. for the Deacon.

5. I p[reache]d.

8. Went to Boston R[eturne]d 11.

12. I p[reache]d. Baptizd Abigail the Daug. of Jonathan French.

[1] Ebenezer Gay (1696–1787), of Hingham. — History of Hingham (1893), i. Part 1, 24.

[2] John Wales, of Raynham.

[3] Jonathan Marsh, of Windsor, Connecticut ?

[4] James Bayley, of the Second Church in Weymouth.

19. I p[reache]d Baptizd Hanna the D[augh]ter of John Kingman.
23. Thanksgiv[ing].
24. B. forsook Deo volente.
26. I p[reache]d at Hull.
28. Quittd ye S[in] yt by G[o]ds grace and assis[tance].

December. Paid Mr Austin 10/ for Triming.

2. Lent the Deacon 10 shill[in]gs to buy yarn with
3. Sacramt. Bapd Benjamin ye son of Thomas Vining.
5. Went to Charlestown. Re[turne]d 13.
10. Mr. [Jonathan] Marsh p[reache]d. I p[reache]d at Charlestown.
17. Mr. Adams p[reache]d for me went to Charlestown 18, r[eturne]d 21.
24. I preached.
26. Lent the Deacon £3.[1]
29. By God's Gra[ce] I am resolvd to shun ye ap[pearance] of Ev[il].[1]
31. I p[reache]d. Baptis'd David ye Son of David Truant. Bapd Benjamin, the son of Benj[amin] Richards.

1739.

[On fly leaves.]

Lent Mr Loud 1 vol of Spectat[o]r; Mr Bass 2 ditto; Isaac, one; Mr Humphrey 2 voll. Spect[ato]r Lent him.

Books lent:

Spectator, one volume to my Brother Isaac.
One volume of the Guardian to Mr Abbot.
Dr Mathers Life to Mr Fox.
I vol. of Spect'or to Mr Bass and 1 v. of Dr Sharp.
Mr. Humphrey, 2 vol.
Mr. Bayley, the His[tory] of England.
Paid David, an Indian the Sum of £5 for stone wall.
Mr. Gay's Sermon [2] to Mr. Bass.

Copy.

Sr, — My Concerns being Such that I Cant personally wait upon you this week. the Errand t[here]fore of these Lines is to let you know that sometime ago I Informed you that the people of the 2 par[ish] of Weym[outh] intended to prosecute Any one that shd

[1] The pen was run through these entries.

[2] Probably that issued in 1728, on the transcendent glory of the gospel, to which is added a pillar of salt to season a corrupt age. He had printed in 1725 a sermon at the ordination of Joseph Green.

presume to pull down the P. house, and in Case they did so I desird your kind assistance in the affair and as you were then pleasd to tell me that you would do what you Could to serve me in the Case I shall depend upon your assistance for July Court. but more of this when I see you.

SR, — My concerns being Such that I cant personally wait upon you, the Errand of these Lines is to Inform you that the ministers meeting is to be at Brother Bowmans next Tuesday and it being his Lecture Day, you are desird to be unto us what thou hast been many a Time — one that has a to preach it. This D Sr is [1]

1739. Charitys Gave Simon Tufts 15s. Gave Mrs Cole £1. Mrs S. 3.

Verses upon John Checkley.[2]

John had thy Sickness snatch'd thee from our Sight
And Sent thee to the realms of endless night.
Posterity phaps ne'r Could 've known.
Thine Eye, thy Beard, thy Cowl and Shaven Crown.
But now thy face by Smibirts matchless hand
Of Immortality secure Shall Stand.
W[he]n into Ruins nature Shall be hurl'd
And the Last Conflagration burn the [world]
This peice Shall Still survive the General Evil
For Flames we know will ne'er Consume the Devil.

January 7. I p[reache]d.

9. Paid 20s for mr Edwards upon the deacons acct. for sewet. 13£ of it

14. I p[reache]d.

15. Went to Boston. re[turne]d 17.

17. Paid Isaac £10.

18. Married Peter Whitemarsh to Abigail Pratt.

21. I p[reache]d at Hingham.

28. Mr. Burnel p[reache]d for me fm ye 23 num 6 [10] Let me dy the death of the riteous. My Brother was here.

February 4. Sacrament day. Recd into Chh John Ward aged above 80. Recd Nathaniel Humphrey also. Bapd. Wm ye son of Francis Loud Mary the Daughter of John Prat.

5. Went to Charlestown Re[turne]d ye 7.

6. Paid Mrs. Chr.

11. I p[reache]d. Baptizd Markeret ye Daughter of James Humphrey.

[1] An imperfect draught of a letter. Another, even more imperfect, follows in the almanac, but is not now printed.

[2] There are two volumes on John Checkley in the Prince Society Publications.

18. I p[reache]d.

21. Went to Boston Re[turne]d 24.

24. By my G[o]d I am as[sure]d and Ev[en] am as[sure]d at My S[trength] and do now ys D[ay] Sol[emnly] prom[ise] By Thy G[o]d never to T[empt] to s[in] ag[ai]n.[1]

25. Mr [John] Hancock p[reache]d. I p[reache] at Braintre

28. My Good Friend Mr Sprague departed this Life Buried 3 of March [1]

March 4. I p[reache]d Bap'd Hanna ye D[augh]ter of Mathew Whitman.

5. Lord g[ran]t me S[trength] to res[ist] the e[vil] so prej[udice]d to me Lord I am ashamd of it and resolve to s[hun] e[vil] T[emptation] by thy S[trength].[1]

5. Went to Boston re[turne]d 9.

6. Dismisd. the D.

11. I preachd a Charitable Sermon upon the Acct. of Mrs. Cole a poor widow aged abt. 90 from 6 Gal. 10 v.

18. I p[reache]d.

22. Married Nathaniel Vinton of Braintree to Ann Green of Weymouth.

25. Rec'd into Chh the wife of Samll Bates, Junr. Mr. Adams p[reache]d for me from those words, What does it profit a man if he gains ye [world].

April 1. Sacrament day. Rec'd John Bass into Chh the Schoolmaster of Weymouth.

2. Went to Boston 6 Re[turned].

8. Mr Noah Clap p[reache]d from 2 Job 10. and fm 2 Rev. 10. Be thou f[aith]ful unto the Death.

D. [2] perseverance in the wayes of well doing even unto D[eath] is ne —

15. I p[reache]d.

13, and 16. Grafted in my Orchards and in the Parsonage Land abt. 80 Grafts. Paid Primus £0. 8.

19. Went to Charles[town]. Returnd 24.

23. Grafted abt 48 Grafts to the Southerd of my Farm house. Set this month to the Southerd of my house abt 40 Trees.

24. The Indian came to work for me Sab. Monday not here 29/30.

May 3. Married Abiah Whitman to Sarah Reed.

6. I p[reache]d

6, 7, 8, 9. The Indian not here

9. Rec'd a Load of rails of Mr Porter £3

13. p[reache]d at Mr. Boarns of Scituate

[1] The pen is run through these entries.

[2] Demonstrating ?

13, 14. The Indian not here 15 and 16 here.

20. I p[reache]d.

24. Went to Hull at Mr Joh. Whites wedding. Re[turne]d 25.

27. I p[reache]d. Recd Mr Thomas Vinton into our Chh fm Mr Nyle's Chh.

30. Paid my Brother 7. Recd it of Mr Bradish.

June 3. Mr Torrey preached fm 13 Luke 6 ver Recd into Chh Mr Andrew Orcut aged ab. 73, and Mercy Burrel in her 16 year and the wife of Caleb Kamball.

5. to Boston p[reache]d Dorchester Lecture Re[turne]d 8.

6. Fast at Charlesto[w]n Mr Abbot [1] p[reache]d fm 68 [Psalm] Thou hast ascended up on high.

10. Mr Lewis [2] p[reache]d from 5 Thes. [1]9. quench not ye Spirit].

D. Such as Live under the Gospel should Take Care to Cherish the motions and Strivings of Gods Spirit with them.

1. I shall say w[he]n or after what manner God is wont to strive with men.

2. Shall Show the reasons and obligations they are under to Take Care to Cherish them.

W[he]n I ans[wer] In Times of Signal Judgments or mercys he does so by sickness, by ye written and pd̄ [3] word, by pious Examples.

Bap'd Sam[l] ye son of Sam. Hollis.

17. I p[reache]d.

20. To Boston R[eturne]d 23.

24. I p[reache]d.

July 28, 1739.

DEAR SR — According to the bishops desire which you know alwayes passes for a positive Com̃and with me his unworthy Curate. I now Send you word that The minis[ters] meeting is to be at Bro. B[ow]mans next Tuesday and his Lecture being on that Day you are Desird to be as a Lovely Song unto us. This Sir is the Desire of your B[rethre]n accompanied with his who is at all Times your sincere F[rien]d and very humble Servant

W SMITH

To Mr. Gay.

July 1. Mr Whitmarsh p[reache]d from 2 Heb. 18. Baptizd Lemuel the son of Zachariah Bicknel.

3. to Boston Re[turned] 5 Sold a Black cow to Mr Teel for 7£.

8. P[reache]d at Hingham.

9. To Boston Re[turne]d 10 Paid the D[eacon] Rates.

15. I p[reache]d.

[1] Hull Abbot, the colleague of Simon Bradstreet, of Marblehead.

[2] Daniel Lewis, first minister of Pembroke, or Isaias, of Wellfleet — brothers.

[3] Printed, promised or preached.

22. I p[reache]d.

23. To Boston Re[turne]d 24 Askd Consent of the Cono! Bought for Deacon Shaw 38/ of Sugar 1/6 of Biscuit.

26. At Mr Eatons[1] Fast on ye account of a Raging Feaver Mr Dunbar[2] p[reache]d fm L[or]d make me to know my End and ye measure of my days. And Mr [John] Hancock p[reache]d fm the Lord gave and ye Lord hath taken away and B[lesse]d. I prayed.

29. I p[reache]d Baptizd Asa the son of Jos. Diar Lent the Deacon 3/ for Contribution

31. Mr [Ebenezer] Gay p[reache]d at Dor[chester] fm the 16 Cor. 10 v. To Boston R[eturne]d 1 Augt.

August 5. Sacrament Day. I p[reache]d. Baptized Content the Daughter of Elisha Lincoln.

12. P[reache]d Mr. Fowl[e].[3]

19. I p[reache]d.

22. To Boston Re[turne]d 25.

26. Catechd ye Children. I p[reache]d.

September 2. I p[reache]d: Mr Pain and wife here.

5. to Boston Re[turne]d 8.

9. I p[reache]d Jonathan the son of John Burrel Baptized.

To Plimouth 10. R[eturne]d 12. Eat a pear at Mr. Cottons[4] which he said came of a Tree 118 years old. The First Planters brot it over. I saw the Tree and it Looks as flourishing as any one.

16. I p[reache]d at Abbington.

23. I p[reache]d.

30. P[reache]d at Hull.

October 1. Went to Boston Re[turne]d 6 Paid Isaac £10:

7. I preachd Sacramt Day Recd into our Chh. Rebecca Mandley.

11. Dy'd Mrs Bourne.

14. I p[reache]d Baptizd Ruth the D[aughte]r of Samñ. Bates Junr. Bapd Leah, the D[aughte]r of Samñ Bates Senr.

15. At Scituate Re[turne]d 16.

21. I p[reache]d fm 18 Mat 3.

25. Rec[eive]d £18: 8 of mr Isaac Jones Constable.

28. Mr Bates p[reache]d Bapd Loring the son of Thoms. White.

29. to Boston. Re[turne]d 2 Nov.

November 4. I p[reache]d.

7. Carryd Mrs Anna Quincey to Hingham.

11. I p[reache]d. Baptizd Urbane the son of John Bates P[ai]d 30 shill[in]gs for my Sister Austin to ye D[eacon]. 7 shillings Laid out for mrs Shaw in Plumbs &c.

18. I p[reache]d.

[1] Elisæus Eaton, of Braintree.
[2] Samuel Dunbar, of Stoughton.
[3] John Fowle, of Hingham.
[4] Josiah?

25. I p[reache]d at Brantree.
29. Thanksgiv[ing] Day.

December 2. Mr Whitmarch p[reache]d fm 57 Isa. 2 verse P. M 21 v. Rec'd into Chh John Bicknel and wife Samll Prat and wife the wife of John White the wife of Daniel Prat Thomas White and Phillip Torey.

9. I preachd.
11. Married Benjamin Beals to Abigail Hunt. Went to Boston Re[turne]d 14.
16. Bap'd Mary the D[augh]ter of Eben[ez]er Porter. I p[reache]d.
17. Paid Deacon 6£.
23. Bap'd June the Negro woman of Capt Cushing.
30. p[reache]d at Hingham.

[Entries on next page.]

To Boston fm Jany 7 to 11.

Jany 9. paid my Brother Isaac Smith £12. 10.

Jan 20. Bap'd Rachel the daughter of Samll Kingman. I p[reache]d. Mrs Norton dy'd 80.

Jany. 31, 1739/40. Married Benj[am]in Tower of Scituate to Deborah Hollis of Weymouth.

1741.

[On fly leaves.]

June. Lent Mr Gay 2 Books Law and Burnet.

Land Bank £5; 7s. 6; 5s.; 7s. 6; 10s. Returned £5.

January 4. I p[reache]d. Bap'd Regemmelech ye son of Capt Cushing.

11. I p[reache]d. Bapd Ruth ye D[augh]ter of Capt. Hunt.
18. I p[reache]d. Married Dan. Burrel to Tabiah Porter.
25. I p[reache]d.

February [1] Sacram[en]t Day.

8. I p[reache]d.
15. I p[reache]d.
22. I p[reache]d Bap'd Daniel the son of John Holbrook.

March 1 I p[reache]d.

8. I p[reache]d. My Brother and Company here.
15. I p[reache]d.
16. Recd. 17s. 6d. 4s. 2/6 Land Bank of Mr. Prat Constable.
22. I p[reache]d a Charitable — and baptized 3 negroes namely Primus Tobias and my negro man Thomas.
29. I p[reache]d. Bapd Anna ye D[augh]ter of John Burrel.

April 5. Sacramt. Day I p[reache]d Baptizd Mercy the daughter of Thomas Porter. Joshua ye son of James Whitmarsh.

8. Married David Rawson of Milton to Mary Diar of Weymouth 22 y. old that Day.

12. I p[reache]d.

19. Mr. Adams p[reache]d.

23. I p[reache]d Fast Day.

26. P[reache]d at Mr. [James] Bayley's.

May 2. Planted Potatoes: 4 or 5 in a Hole the 4 row planted 2 and 3 of the Largest Size.

3. I p[reache]d.

7. Planted Corn in the parsonage Land.

10. Bapd Abiah the son of Abiah Whitman.

17. P[reache]d at Hingham.

24. P[reache]d Weym[outh].

31. Mr. Torey p[reache]d. How shall we Escape If we n[eglect] so g[rea]t Salv[ation] Mr Symms here.

June 2. Sarah Returned to service. Sowd Carret Seed.

3. Planted Corn.

7. Baptid Sarah the daughter of Wm Prat. My Hond Mother here with us. I p[reache]d.

14. Sacram[t] day: the other parish here.

21. I p[reache]d.

22. My horse sent to Mr Thaxter's.

23. Loud and Boy here. [*Illegible*]

26 and 7. here.

27. Recd of Mr Prat Constable £4: in Land Bank. No re[ceip]t given.

28. Mr [John] Fowl p[reache]d A: M. 23 Deu.

29. Sarah's service ended.

July 5. Mr Bass[1] p[reache]d. Baptizd Silence the daughter of John Kingman.

12. I p[reache]d.

14. The youngs. Cow went to Bull.

19. Mr Symmes[2] p[reache]d. Bap'd 3 Mr Ebenezer Prat daughtr Mr Zachariah Bicknell Mr John Bates.

22. Took my mare home.

23. Mr Brown and J Warren here upon a F[rien]dly visit.

26. P[reache]d at Braintree.

27. Recd of Mr. Prat Constable £8. Land Bank. £3. No Receipt given.

August. Lent Mr. Torey veal 13 lb at 9 d p £

[1] John or Benjamin Bass, of Braintree.

[2] Timothy Symmes, of Scituate.

2. Sacramt. Jesse the son of Thomas White Bapd. Mary the Daughtr. of John Burrell Jun'r. re'd. into Church John Burrel and wife Junr.

9. I p[reache]d. Ruth Bap'd the Daugtr of Samll Hunt. Sarah, the daughter of Isaac Jones. Mr Jackson and wife here and Norton.

16. p[reache]d at Little Hingham Mr Fowle here.

23. Mr Bucknam [1] p[reache]d 3 prov. In all thy ways ack[nowledge] him.

30. I p[reache]d. Baptizd Mary the Daughter of Phillip Torey junr. and Abigail the D[augh]ter of Job Nash.

September 6 P[reache]d at Whenham: gave Mr Warren. £3 : 10.

9. Mercy Dormorn Came to Service p[ai]d Mr Bates Rates. £4. 5.

13. I p[reache]d.

14. Black Cow Bulld.

18. Then Recd. with Mr Prat Constable and gave receipts for what I had recd. and did ye same with respect to my orders.

19. Re[ceive]d of Mr Prat £1. 10. Rect. given.

20. I p[reache]d.

26. recd of Mr. Prat £16. Receipt given.

27. I p[reache]d.

October. The First Lecture preachd ℔ me was ye 1. October, 1741.

1. Recd of Mr. Prat Land B. £3. No receipt given.

4. Sacrt. day. I p[reache]d.

11. P[reache]d at Cohasset.

13. Paid Brother Edwards £11.

14. Paid Mr. Ephm. Burrell for Beaf qt 88. £2. 18. 8

18. Bapd John The Son of John Torey.

25. Bapd Stephen the Son of Joseph Diar.

27. Recd of Mr Prat Constable £10. 30 Land Bank. No receipt given.

November 1. I p[reache]d.

12. Thanksgiving day.

15. P[reache]d at Mr [James] Bayleys.

17. Recd of Mr Prat constable £9 by the hand of my negro Tom. No receipt given.

22. I p[reache]d.

29. I p[reache]d.

30. Recd £6. of Deacon Waterman No receipt given.

December 6. Mr [Noah] Clapp p[reache]d.

9. My Daughter Mary born abt. 11 of Clock in the forenoon.

10. Marryd. Wm. Billings to Mary Badlam.

13. Baptiz d my Daughter Mary.

20. I p[reache]d.

[1] Nathan Bucknam, of Medway.

22. Recd of Mr Daniel Prat Constable The sum of £5 No receipt given. paid Mr Loud's Rates. 3. 16. 1.

30. Ordaind Mr Fowle.

1 Jan. Hanna Badlam Dyd.

2 Sabb. in Jan. Bapd Susanna the Daugt. of Wm Dyar.

Bapd. Hanna ye D[augh]ter of John White.

Bapd Dorothy, ye D[augh]ter of Mr Whitmarsh.

Feb. 15. B[aptize]d Hanna ye D[aughter] of D Prat. Molle ye Dr. of Samll Kingh. Rec[eive]d into Chh. Lidia Bates Ellis Bates Sarah Burrel.

1749.

[On fly leaves.]

Books lent. 1749.

To Mr. Gay 1 vol. history of ye Reformation.

To Mr. Gay 1 vol. of Dr. Sharps Sermons.

To Mr. Shute 1 vol. of Dr. Watts Sermon.

To Cotton Tufts Several Books.

To Deb. Badlam 1 vol. of Spectator.

To Mr. Diar Dr Cheyne.

To Mr. Humphrey 1 vol. of Pride.

January 11. Mard. James White to Miriam Kingman.

Jan. Dy'd Sam Tatnel Ann Hunt.

Feb. Mrs Phillips.

1 March. Mrs. Porter Humphrey. Hannah French. March 24.

Mr. Pittes. son and Mr. Whiting 30 May. Stephen Hollis. Mrs. Staples. Mrs. Porter. Mrs. Ruth Bates Mr. Diar Mrs. Silvester. Mr. Torreys child Dr. Frenchs child. Mathew Whitman.[1]

February 1. Mr Shute[2] Lecture p[reache]d.

5. Sacrt.

19. P[reache]d for Mr. [Ebenezer] Gay. his daughter Celia Lay dead.

March 15. [Married] Jonathan Walker of Dighton to Deborah Burrell of Wey[mouth].

21. My wife went to Boston. returnd. 28.

April. Donum ad S. Tufts. £3.

11. Sold my horse to Mr Jackson for £200.

13. bought 16½ Bushels of Corn for 7. p b. £5. 15. 6.

19. paid Mr Mathew Prat for carting dung. half day. £2.10

20. paid Deacon Shaw for ploughing £1.6.

30. p[reache]d at Haset [Cohasset].

May 4. My Lecture. Mard. Eben[ez]er Bicknel to Sara Turril. £0. 10.

[1] A death list of the year.

[2] Daniel Shute, of Hingham.

7. I p[reache]d Sacrt. Day.

10. Bought Rye 5 bushels at 40s p B £10 Corn yn was 24 a 25. wheat £3 and 56s. the week before Corn was 20 and 21.

14. Mr White[1] p[reache]d fm 9 Zech. 12 Doc[trine] that Sinners under the Gospel wr prisoners of hope and are Invited to Come to and for Salvation.

30 Mr Wheaton dyd and Mr Pittes son.

August 10 Lecture day.

13. Sacrt Day.

24. Thanksgiving Day p[reache]d for Mr Briant[2] in the afternoon to return thanks for the rains after a heavy D[rough]t.

27. p[reache]d at Mr Shutes.

29. went to Abbington Council returnd 31.

September 14. Mr Brown buried.

21. Lecture.

24. Sacrt.

October 12 My wood Cut by 13 hands.

15. I p[reache]d. Mr Thaxter and Cotton Tufts here.

22. I p[reache]d.

25. The people Carted my wood 13 ox Teems 7 horse.

November 2 My Lecture.

5. My Last Sacrament.

15. Killd a Cow abt. 4 year old and half. qt. 548[3] at 18 p £. £41. 2

23. Married Mathew Prat to Mary Lovell Recd. 4 Calves of the Colon.

December 1. Killd 2 hogs. one weighd 198 lb The other, 200.

4. at Boston. Paid Brother Smith for a Barrel of Flower. £15. 11. 3.

1751.

[on fly leaves.]

Paid Mrs Diar 6/3 old Ten. more than her Due.

Overpd Mr Kidder £1. old Ten.

March 15, 1750/1. Cash by me in Dollars, 80; half Dollrs 61. (13 taken out); qters 09 half Qu. 16. Coppers 80. [Total] £289 : 5 : 7 in paper. £3.

Application being made to us the Sub. by 2 of the m[embers or ministers] of the S[econd] Chh in B[raintree] for our advice to you under their present Broken Cir[cumstances] and Inasmuch as we Understand is near Equally divided in their sentiments, and the one part of the Society has voted 15 members at Liberty to Seperate fm them we Cant

[1] Ebenezer White, of Mansfield (now Norton).

[2] Lemuel Briant, of Braintree.

[3] This total was thus obtained: forequarters, 124, 119; hindquarters, 100, 98; hide, 47, tallow, 60.

think but it will be of fatal Consequence to the Interest of religion and ye Cause of X in that place If some healing and uniting measure be not Come into among them. And therefore our advice is that if Mr [Edward] C[heever] who has now a Call to the work of the min[istry] thre does not soon give them an answ[er] in ye negative. it will be for The Glory of God and the Inter[est] of religion that both partys unite in a Council or at least a number of the min[isters] to consult about and advise to some healing method before they proceed to settle any man among them in the ministry that they may not be so broken as to be unable to settle and maintain the G. ministry.

January 28. Mrs Shaw died.

February 24. I p[reache]d.

28. Married Ephraim Burrell, Junr. to Mercy Donham

March 3. Mr [Edward] Cheever p[reache]d. I p[reache]d at Mr Eatons parish.

10. I p[reache]d. Mr. Phillips Died.

14. Mr [James] Bayley and I p[reache]d at Abbington on the account of Mrs Prat's distraction. his Text. despise not the Church of the Lord.

21. Fast day preached.

24. p[reache]d at Mr Shutes.

28. Lecture Mr Dodge.

31. Sacrament Day.

April 6. Mr Narsh dy'd Mr Porters Child and Enoch Hunts born dead.

20. Mr Thom. Porters child died.

23. Weymouth Meeting House took fire about half an hour after 10 'Clock at night and burnt to the ground in abt. 2 hours[1] Mr John Reeds child died.

May 2. Married Jonathan Truant to Sarah Lovel. Ezra Porter to Hannah Porter. Sisters.

16. We kept a Fast to bewail the burning of our Meeting House I prayd. Mr [Ebenezer] Gay p[reache]d fm 57 Isa. 15. Mr [Samuel] Nyles p[reache]d fm 3 Rev. 3.

19. I p[reache]d.

June 2. I p[reache]d.

6. Raised my Barn at Charlestown at my farm. Abt. noon, finishd. Mr Bicknel worked abt. 2 days. Mr Humphrey abt. 5. Mr Loud Son and Bicknel. abt. 6.[2]

[1] "Last Tuesday Night the old Meeting-House in Weymouth was burnt to the Ground; and three Barrels of Gunpowder, the Town-Stock, being in the Loft, blew up with a great noise: 'Tis uncertain by what Means the Fire happen'd." Boston Post-Boy, April 29, 1751. See C. F. Adams, History of Braintree and Quincy, 130.

[2] See entries under December of this year.

9. I p[reache]d.

14. Rec'd of Mr Goodwin a Chaise which Cost abt. £202 old Tenor.

16. P[reache]d at Milton.

18. The Lightning struck Mr Webbs House and killd Mr Jonas Humphrey a cow killd a cow at hingham and struck several houses.

23. I p[reache]d.

30. I p[reache]d.

July 7. Sacrt Day I [preached].

12. Mr Studly Buried a Child. Mr Moses Marsh a Child. Mr John Kingman a Daughter abt. 10. both of the throat Distemper.

14. I p[reache]d.

21. P[reache]d at Hingham.

26. Mercy Holbroke brot to bed.

28. I p[reache]d.

August 7. Began to raise Weymouth Meeting house, 3 days and half about it. I gave Mr Beals and Bates for yr Incouragement. £2.

11. I p[reache]d at Mr [Daniel] Shutes.

12. At Boston. Carried Bette.

15. Mr Benjamin Bicknells Child Died of the throat Distemper. P[ai]d £15. for my wig.

17. Mr Pittes Daughter Sara Died of the Throat D. aged 5. Paid £4. for a hat for my Son

18. P[reache]d

23. Mr Hollis child died [of] Throat Distemper.

September 1. Met in our New Meeting House. I p[reache]d.

5. Died a Son of John Humphrey of the Throat Distemper.

7. Died. Wm Whitman Son of Abiah Whitman of the throat distemper.

8. I p[reache]d.

9. Died, Joshua Bates. 13 y. old, of the Throat Distemper.

10. Died Sarah Whitman D[augh]ter of Abiah Whitman. Throat Distemper.

17. Mr Hasel child Died of the throat distemper and Mr John Whitmans.

18. Dy'd Mrs Holbrook of a Consumption.

19. The Widow Whitmans Child Dyd of the throat distemper. 4 Dy'd ys week and 4 born.

26. Dy'd Mrs Barjorah of the Throat Distemper.

29. Silvanus Holbrook dy'd. Throat Distemper.

October 1 Died, Mr John Bates child.

2. Died his Second.

3. Died Ruth Whitman the Captains 3d Child of the Throat Distemper.

4. Died, the 3d.

5. Died Sam. Ward's wife. 11 Died this week 6. in our parish. 5 in Mr. Bayley's.

7. Dy'd Mr Joseph Webb Child an Infant 4 child

9. Dy'd Mr John Bates Child Throat D.

10. Dy'd Mr Wells Child. a Twin.

11. Dy'd Molle Bicknell.

13. Sacrt Day.

15. Died of the Throat Dis. Mary Narsh Servt to Mr White Marrid Joseph Dunbar of Hallifax to Mercy French of Weymouth.

18. Dy'd. White throat Dis.

20. Mr Teel here. Dy'd James Bicknell

29. This week Dy'd Mr Reeds Daugh[ter] Jones Son and Bates 5 child a D[aughter].

November 7. Thanksgiving Day. Mard Sam. Humphrey to Sara Badlam.

13. Mr Dorby ordained at Scituate.[1]

17. P[reache]d [at] Milton.

21. Fast Day at Mr [James] Bayleys Parish on the account of the throat Distempers prevailing there Mr Cotton p[reache]d from 2 Jer. 30. In vain have I smitten yr c[hildre]n ye rec'd no Correction. Mr. [Samuel] Porter P M. fm 2 Cor. 12. 8 v. and p[ar]t of the 9 for ys thing I besought the Ld thrice that it might depart from me, and he said unto me. my grace is sufficient for thee.[2]

[1] Jonathan Dorby. See Deane, History of Scituate, 201.

[2] In his Almanack for 1754, Nathaniel Ames included an "Essay upon Regimen" in which he said: "It is true as a Poet says,

A Law Eternal does decree,
That all things born shall Mortal be:

Yet the Birds, Beasts, and Fishes, if not devoured by one another or murdered by Man, commonly go on in a State of Health to the Period of Life. Man! the last and most noble of all GOD's visible Works! What innumerable Diseases (besides a * strange Pestilence with foul *Ulcusculosa*) prey on thy Infant Posterity."

On an earlier epidemic (1735–1736) which spread through the colonies of New England, see Chase, "History of Haverhill," 306. Also "An Account of the Numbers that have died of the Distemper in the Throat . . . in New Hampshire" (1736) prepared by Rev. Jabez Fitch. In twelve months 984 died of the distemper, and by far the greatest part were under ten years of age — "the woful Effects of Original Sin," remarked the pious compiler. He seized the opportunity to write a good tract of admonition, and notes: "Tho days of Fasting and Prayer have been observ'd in the Beginning of this fatal Calamity, 'tis to be fear'd they were not attended with a suitable Reformation; and therefore God has *answer'd us by terrible things in Righteousness.*" Apart from its statistics the pamphlet has nothing of scientific value.

The Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, also wrote a letter which appeared in a pamphlet, "Observations on that terrible Disease Vulgarly called the Throat-Distemper. With Advices as to the Method of Cure" (1740).

Dr. William Douglass, of Boston, in 1735, was the first to write upon the sub-

* The Throat-Distemper [footnote in Ames]

December 1. Sac^{t} Day.

The Expences of my Farm Barn Erected 6th of June 1751.

To 3 thousand of board nails at 55/	£8. 5. 0
11 thousand and half of shingle nails, 10 thousand at 24. 1 thousand and half at 25	13. 17. 6
half a thousand of Double tens 2/5	2. 5. 0
Cash for 2 thousand of Boards	27. 0. 0
Cash for 2 thousand of Boards	30. 0. 0
flip	0. 14. 0
Veal 24/	1. 4. 0
3 Gallons of Rum, at 18 ℔ G.	2. 14. 0
Cash for the Frame	95. 0. 0
Boating it	05. 0. 0
Boating Shingles at 2s ℔ th. 12 thousand,	1. 4. 0
12 thousand of hemlock shingles or spruce at 3£ ℔ th.	36. 0. 0
Mr. Teel paid	3. 15. 0
Mr. Eustice	0. 25. 0
Mr. Oakes	5. 0. 0
Mr. Bicknel and Loud for finishing	30. 0. 0
Mr. Teel for Board &c.	16. 1. 0
My Barn cost me	279. 14. 6
My Chaise Cost	202. 0. 0
	£479. 14. 6

ject from the medical point of view, describing both the mild and the malignant forms; but he was not clear in his distinction between cases of scarlet fever and pure diphtheria. He called it "Angina ulcusculosa," but the common name was "throat illness or a plague in the throat." Writing in 1753, Dr. Cadwallader Colden speaks of the appearance of the "throat distemper" in Kingston, N. H., in 1735, and its spreading from that place through New England, reaching the Hudson in 1737. It crossed the river, first appearing in those places to which the people of New England chiefly resorted for trade, and thence spread over all the British Colonies on the continent. Children and young persons were the victims, and a very few old persons died of it. Colden's letter is printed in the London Medical Observations and Inquiries, i. 211. Dr. Samuel Bard, in 1771, wrote an elaborate essay on Suffocative Angina, which was translated into French and published in Paris in 1810. After 1771 the disease seems to have almost disappeared so far as medical notice in this country shows, and but for an epidemic in Charleston, S. C., in 1839, was forgotten. In 1841 Dr. Ware, of Boston, could write that he had observed only some twenty cases in twelve years. An outbreak in England, in 1847, was traced to Boulogne, and was known as the Boulogne sore throat. An epidemic of diphtheria broke out in England in 1857 and spread to almost all parts of the conntry. There were few cases in the United States until 1858, when an outbreak occurred in Albany, and in 1859 in the city of New York and certain places in New England. The Rhode Island Medical Society, in 1860, offered a prize for an essay on the subject, and the appearance of the disease in Boston about 1859 produced almost a panic.

1754.

[On fly leaves.]

Isaac Fowle dy'd Octr. 15, 1718, 70 y.
Beriah Fowle dy'd Octr. 7. 1734. 83.
Wm. Smith dyd June 3. 1730. 63.

January. By house Rent fm 1 of May, 1752 to May 1. 1754. at £5 ℔ y. £10.

Bette Penny dyd this month.

21. Abel Turrell and 2 young men lost at Hangmans Island. froze to death.

February 3. I p[reache]d.

9. Died Ebenr. Porters wife

10. I p[reache]d.

16. Peg my servt Tom. wife died

17. P[reache]d at Hingham. Mr Gay here

March 14 Mr Phillip Torrey dyd agd 73

21. Died Turners child

April 4 Fast day.

7. P[reache]d at home

14. P[reache]d at home. Sacrt Day

15. Brother Smith and wife here upon a Visit.

20. Send 2 Calf Skins and one sheep skin to Mr. Webbs.

21. P[reache]d at home.

22. The Rev'd Mr. Dorby Died at Colonll Lincoln of a Fever.

24. Attended his Funeral as a Bearer.

27. Put 14 sheep on F. Lot and 13: Lambs, 7 of which were Ram Lambs, all mark'd with a punch'd hole in the Left ear.

28. P[reache]d by exchange with the Rev'd Mr. [Samuel] Nyles.

May 8. Paid 18/ to Mr Edwards for binding Dr. Douglas.

12. This week Corn was 17s as a Connect. sloop man told me. There was but one vessel in. No Rye and wheat.[1]

16. Sister Joanna Dyd, Ætatis 18.

19. P[reache]d at Braintree.

26. P[reache]d [at] Scituate. after Mr. Dorby decease

29. Dr. Tufts at Boston.[2] Enq[uired] the price of grain. Corn at 16. Rye 22/6.

June 2. Sacrt. day The Rev'd Mr Torrey p[reache]d.

5. Attended the Fast at Scituate. Mr. [Ebenezer] Gay p[reache]d fm 1 Cant. 7, Tell me &c. Mr. Bourn[3] p[reache]d fm 9 Mat. 36.

[1] He had recorded on the 6th that rye was 22/6, Corn, 14/6 and oats 9/ the bushel.

[2] Dr. Cotton Tufts.

[3] Shearjashub Bourne, of Scituate.

but when he saw the sheep without a shepd. I p[reache]d. Mr. Brown and Hitchcock present.

Mr. Gay obs[erve]d that the Chh of God was his flock, and that 2ly. Christ fed his sheep, he does so by his word, by governing them, and by his ministers.

16. P[reache]d at Braintree. Mr. [David] Barns here.

20. Set out for Cape Ann.

23. P[reache]d at Marblehead for Mr. [Simon] Bradstreet.

25. Rode to Cape Ann, with my brother. Returned to Weymouth, 29.

July 7. Sacrt. day. Mr. Rawson[1] p[reache]d fm 16 Mark, 7.

14. I p[reache]d.

August 4. I p[reache]d.

7. At Boston. Paid Mr. Oliver for a cut whigg, £10. 10.

14. Mr. [William] Rand p[reache]d Hingham Lecture fm 22 Acts, 22. 1. I shall shew the folly and madness of an Intemperate Zeal in matters of religion. 2. That such zealots think themselves the favorites of heaven.

15. Sacrt. day. Joseph Porters child buried.

29. Mar'd Lemuel Ward of Ch[arles]Town to Mary Bates.

September 1. I p[reache]d.

3. Capt. Whitm. dy'd.

8. Mr. [James] Bayley p[reache]d by Exch[ange].

15. I p[reache]d.

22. I p[reache]d. Deacon Palmer and Cranch here.

29. Mr. Troop[2] of Norwich p[reache]d. A.M. Mr. Barnes P.M. I, at Scituate.

October 6. I p[reache]d. Sacrt. day. Fast day, Sister Austin here and Ebenezer her son.

10. Mercy Sturgis dy'd.

13. I p[reache]d.

18. Eben[ez]er Kingman Dy'd.

27. Mr. [Ebenezer] White p[reache]d. P. M. tar[rie]d at home.

November 17. Mr. [Samuel] Dunbar exchang'd with me. Mrs. Kingman died.

24. I p[reache]d. Sacramt. day.

28. Thanksgiving.

December 4. Mr. Barns[3] was ordained to the P. office in Scituate. Mr. [John] Wales began with prayer, Mr. [Shearjashub] Bourn p[reache]d fm Son of man I have etc., gave the Charge and made the first prayer. I pray'd after the Charge and gave the right hand of fellowship.

[1] Grindall Rawson.

[2] Benjamin Throop.

[3] David Barnes.

7. Kill'd a Cow, weighed 120 lb. a quarter, fatted at Mr. Goolds Island. At 12d, she came to abt. £36.

21. Prat's wife died.

25. Mar'd Sam. Bates to Hannah Prat.

To James Humphrey Treasurer of the first precinct in Weymouth. You are hereby ordered to pay unto the Rev'd. Mr. Wm. Smith, the sum of £24 lawful money for one year's salary, ending the 12th day of Feb'y next. Also the further sum of fifty nine pounds fourteen shillings and 2 farthings for the advance of said salary the year Past by the several articles by which it was stated, and to be regulated. Weym. Jan. 17, 1754.

1755.

[On fly leaves.]

Books Lent:

To Mr. [Ebenezer] Gay, Burnet's history of the Reformation, 3 vol.

To Mr. [Richard] Chranch Locke's Letters.

To Mr. [Daniel] Shute, 1 vol. of Dr. Watt's Sermon, and 2 Sermons of Mr. Gees.

To Mrs. Jenny Goold, the 8 vol. of the Spectator.

To Lucy 1 vol. Spectator.

To Joseph Diar, Mr. It. and Littles.

To Sarah Diar Gardner's Life.

January. Mr. Richards died this month. The son of Sam. Bates dy'd.

February. Dy'd Hagar's Child.

5. Mr. Wibird ordain'd.[1]

19. The Association met here. Mr. [Ebenezer] Gay, [William] Rand, [Samuel] Brown, [Daniel] Shute, [Gad] Hitchcock,[2] [David] Barns and [Joseph] Green. Mr. Gay p[reache]d fm. 5 Mat. 10.

20. I p[reache]d Mr. [Daniel] Shute's Lecture.

23. I p[reache]d.

March 2. I p[reache]d.

9. B. T. at Capt W. was present.

10. Dy'd Catharine Narsh.

12. P[reache]d Mr. [Ebenezer] Gay's Lecture.

20. Fast day.

21. Mrs. Lawrence dy'd.

23. I [preache]d.

April 6. P[reache]d Braintree.

8. At Boston with my wife. Corn 18/, Rye 25, Wheat 34, Sent to Mr. Webb a Calf skin and Dog skin.

[1] Anthony Wibird succeeded Lemuel Bryant.

[2] Of Pembroke.

13. I p[reache]d. Sacramt Day.

20. I p[reache]d.

May 4. I p[reache]d.

11. Mr. Samuel Nyles p[reache]d.

15. Jenny Gardner dy'd.

18. Mr. Vinal p[reache]d.[1] I at Mr. Gay's.

20. At Boston. Corn was 18 by qt [quantity], 20 by a single Bushel. Rye was 24, wheat 34. Rye had been 25, wheat 35 a few days before.

22. Mr. James Pittes sold corn to Guyer, a Dutchman, for 28 & Bushel.

24. Mr. Porter and Prat brot me 2 Load of wood. Paid them in hay.

25 I p[reache]d. Sacramt. Day.

26. Rec'd 205£ old Tenr. of Mr. James Humphrey for which I have given him a receipt on my order.

June 3 and 4. At Boston. Bought 16 bushels of Rye at 23s pr Bushel. Vining bought the bottom of the vessel for 22/6. Corn was 18, wheat 35.

8. I p[reache]d.

15. Exchanged with Mr. Robins.[2]

18. Ministers' meeting at Mr. Brown's. Mr. [William] Rand p[reache]d fm 9 Luke 56: the son of man is not come to destroy mens lives.

22. I p[reache]d.

July 3. Fast day on acct. of the war.

6. Sacra[t] Day. I p[reache]d.

8. Mr. Chaddock came to Board.

13. P[reache]d at Scituate. Mr. [David] Barnes here.

20. P[reache]d at Mr. [Anthony] Wibird's.

26. Mr. Chaddock went home.

27. I p[reache]d.

August 6. Thomas Kingman's Child Dy'd.

13. At the Spinster's Lecture. The Rev'd Mr. [Ebenezer] Pemberton preach'd fm. 12 Rom. 11 : not slothful in business.

17. Sacrat Day.

20. Ministers meeting. Chaddock came.

24. Attended the Funeral of the Rev'd Mr. Veasies wife.[3]

31. P[reache]d at Mr. [Anthony] Wibird's. Con Wendal there.

September 25. P[reache]d Abington Lecture.

28. Sacra[t] Day.

[1] William Vinal, minister of Newport, Rhode Island.

[2] Nathaniel Robbins, of Milton.

[3] Samuel Veazie, minister of Duxbury, and, at this time, of Hull.

October 2. Abbington Lecture.

5. P[reache]d Scituate at Mr. [David] Boarns. Mr. [William] Vinal here.

31. My Lecture.

November 13. Married Francis Loud to Joanna Dyar.

15. Lent Dr. Tufts a Bundle of Shingles.

18. A g[rea]t and terrible Earthquake happend.[1]

19. Married David Bicknell to Jerusha Vinson. Lent the Dr. a pail of hair.

December 2. Married Dr. Tufts[2] to Lucy Quincy.

4. Thanksg[iving].

28. P[reache]d at Hingham.

31. Lent Brother Smith £100 old Ten.

1759.[3]

[On fly leaves.]

Expences for 1759 :[4]

Jany. 5. paid for Ink powder	£0.	7. 6
for binding books,	2.	5. 0
for Dr. Mayh[ew's] Sermons	0.	10. 0
for Mr. Pemp. [Pemberton's] Sermons	0.	7. 6
for Oats	0.	2. 0
Donum to Polley	2.	10.
Don^{m} — Calen^{r}	2.	10
Don^{m} to Judee	1.	5
for books	4.	
To Mr. Marsh for boarding my son	60.	
P'd Mr. Goodwin for a pair of Chaise Wheels	2.	9.
for Tea 52/6	2.	12. 6
Primus for shearing 17 sheep at 7d ps	0.	10.
To washing 30 sheep 6 p s.	0.	15
To Mr. Gill for 30 Sw(squares ?) of Glass at 3/6	5.	5
To Books	1.	10.
To Lottery in York and Roxbury Perdu	18.	
Nov. Pd Mr. Condy for Virgil	6.	

August 9. Married John Davenport of Stoughton to Lois Badlam of Weym[outh].

12. P[reache]d at Mr. Browns. Adm. the Sacrament.

29. I and my wife at Boston. Caryd Alven [?] Fletcher.

[1] A full account in the Boston Gazette, November 24, 1755.

[2] Cotton Tufts. See Nash, Historical Sketch of Weymouth, 190.

[3] This almanac contains expense entries for 1760, 1782, and 1783, but few references for 1759.

[4] A selection of items only is printed.

September 5. Went to Mr. Brown's [1] ordination at Marshfield.

11. Married Joseph Nash to Sarah Daman. 45/

24. I had at Hingham pasture 35 Sheep.

October 14. P[reache]d.

November 24. Thanksg[iving].

December.

Province Notes of Mrs. Smiths.

June 22, 1758. 190. £27. 5. 0. John Wheelwright and Son Esq. payable 1 June, 1761.

17 June, 1757. 434. £6. Rec'd of Jacob Parsons. Pay'ble 1 June 1760.

17. Jany. 1758. 2787. £10. Rec'd of Thomas Hubbard Esqr. Payb. 1 June, 1760.

1 July, 1757. 467. £10. Rec'd of John Osborne Esq. Payb. 1 June 1760.

Tickets. Boston Pier Lottery, 5 Class. No. 1309 John Simpkins; 2542, Sam. Ruggles; 90, Tim. Newell. June 23, 1779.

1763.

March 17. At Boston.

April 12. Public Fast.

13. Mar'd Sam. Kingman to Elizabeth Whitm[an].

21. Mr. Edwards Will Tri'd.

24. Mr. Thatcher's fee 10 d and half a Guinea.

May 16. At Boston. Corn was 28 and 29, Rye 37, Wheat 45.

22. P[reache]d at Mr. [Daniel] Shutes.

26. At Boston. Corn 28, Rye 37. Wheat sold by the Cargo a man told me for 45/. Corn sold with us for 30.

27. Bought a mare of Mr. Sherman, abt. 6 or 7 year as he told me.

29. Sacrt. Day.

June 6. Corn 30. Rye 38. Wheat 47/6 and 45/ by the Cargo.

20. Bought a Farm at Medford, cost £1200; an Island B't cost £300. P[reache]d [or prayed] to Paul Torrey in his Distress.

22. Minister meeting. Mess. [Ebenezer] Gay, [John] Brown, [Daniel] Shute, [Thomas?] Smith,[2] [Gad] Hitchcock, [Charles] Turner [3] present.

23. Paul Torrey died.

30. At Medford.

July 5. At Boston.

10. Fast Day.

17. P[reache]d at Hingham.

[1] John Brown, of Second Church, Hingham.

[2] Of Pembroke.

[3] Of Duxbury.

August 18. At Medford. Measur'd my Farm.

21. Sac[t] Day. P[reache]d Acts 2. 4.

30. Colonel Smith and Lady, and Brother Smith and Lady, Mr. Cranch and Lady, and Dr. Tufts, dined here.

September 19. I din'd with Col[n] Smith and Lady, Brother and L[ady] and Dr. Tufts, at Mr. Deans of Dedham.

22. Mar'd John Jones and Pittee, and Jonathan Burrel to Sarah Whitmarsh.

October 9. Sacrt. Day.

13. Mar'd Leonard Miller to Sarah Richards.

18. At Medford.

November. Elizabeth Cranch Born the 20 of November abt. 12 at night. Baptiz'd 27 of Nov.

27. Mr. [James] Bayley p[reache]d, it being Sacramt. Day, fm 2 Heb.

December. Mar'd Zebulon Pain of Boston to Rebecca Richards of Weymouth.

Sir, — The small pox being in Town, I have been oblig'd to retire into the Country and when I shall return is uncertain. I must therefore beg the favor of you to dispose of the Boots I spoke for, if you have made them, and in so doing you 'l oblige yr. Friend

W. Smith.

1768.

[On fly leaves.]

Lent Dodrige to the Widow Thayer.

Deaths this year, 1768: Jany. Daniel Prat's d[augh]ter; Febr 27. Thomas Reed; May 15, Deacon Waterman's wife dy'd; July, Mr. Benj. Bicknell's wife; Augt. 14. Peter Whitmarsh; a Child of Ora Bates; Sept. 21, Joseph Porter; [*illegible*] child.

A Cure for deafness, or a dry Ear: Mix a little Hungary water or Brandy, with as much sweet oyl, dip a little black wool in it, and put it into the Ear. When it grows dry wash it well in Brandy, and dip it again.

February 4. Mar'd Josiah Ward to Bates.

18. Mar'd Caleb Narsh to Rachel Narsh, both of Weym[outh].

21. P[reache]d at Mr. [Daniel] Shutes.

March 17. Married Ebenezer Niles of Braintree to Elizabeth Hunt of Weymouth.

April 17. P[reache]d at Wey[mouth], Mr B parish Mr. Fuller here.[1]

[1] Fuller was called, in March, to succeed Bayley, but declined. Probably Bayley is intended by "B."

May 1. Sacrt. Day.

Mar'd 4. David Lovel to Sarah Waterman.

26. At Boston. Rye 27, wheat 40/, corn 18/.

June 12. Sat. day. Mr. Cranch and wife here. Billy here.

July 24. St. Day. Messieurs Adams and Cranch and Mrs. Adams.[1] P[reache]d a Charitable Sermon from 6 Heb. 10, on the account of the French at Canada. 85 families were burnt out of their houses.

August 14. P[reache]d at the Castle before the Commissioners fm 1 Cor. 2, 9, Eye hath not seen. fm 135 Ps[alm] 5, 6. Went with Mr. Paxton aboard the 50 gun ship the Romney.

September 6. Mar'd Prat to Deborah Darby, both of Weymouth. £ 1. 10.

8. A severe storm of Thunder and Light[nin]g, which burnt down Deacon Palmer's Barn and a Stack of Oates, qt [quantity] abt. 4 or 5 hundred bushels. His lost computed abt £1500. I p[reache]d fm 12 Heb. 18 to 29.

October 4. P[reache]d at Mr. [Anthony] Wibird's on Fast day, occ[asione]d by the difficulty of the Times, fm. 2 Chron. 15, 2: the Lord is with us. Mr. Robins p[reache]d fm. 13 Hosea [9]: O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself.

November 27. Last Sact. Day. P[reache]d from 2 Gal. I live.

December 1. Thanksgiv[in]g Day. P[reache]d fm 104 Ps[alm]. wine.

28. Mrs. Adams deliver'd of a Daughter.[2]

29. Mar'd Wm. Reed of Weymouth to Elizabeth Stammers of Braintree.

DIARIES OF DR. COTTON TUFTS.

1772.[3]

January 1. Went to Boston.

3. A. M. at Braintree.

4. Bro. Quincy, Mr. Smith, etc. dined here.

5. Mr. Smith preached.

6. P. M. Chh. meeting.

7. A. M. Cotton went to Hingham.

9. Josiah Watermans wife seized with fever.

10. Went to Boston.

11. Brother Quincy here.

[1] John Adams married, October 25, 1764, Abigail, daughter of Dr. Smith. He resided in Braintree until 1768, when he removed to the "White House," in Brattle Square, Boston. See "Life and Works of John Adams," ii. 210. William Cranch, jurist, was a brother-in-law of Mrs. Adams.

[2] Susanna, who died February 4, 1770.

[3] Dr. Tufts recorded the weather, but the record is printed only for February, and the entries for the two years 1772 and 1784 are much abridged.

12. Mr. Mansfield preached.
14. Went to Bridgewater.
16. At Mr. Shute's.
17. David Waterman seized with fever.
19. Mr. Smith p[reache]d. Willm Pittee died. M. in his 91st yr.
23. Wm. Smith, jun. and wife, Mr. Jay and wife, etc. dined here.
26. Mr. Smith p[reache]d.
28. Isaac Smith jun. and Wm. Smith here.

Peter Jones, Husband to my sister Anna, died of a Consumption about ye 18th Inst. Jany.

February 1. N. W. Moderate.
2. D. D. Pleasant W. N. Mr. Smith preached.
3. W. E. Blew cold I. V. Snow'd and rain'd. P. M. Chh. meeting. John Torrey suspended.
4. N. W. Clear A.M. I. V. Cloudy.
5. Very Cold. W. W. Fine sledd'g. Went to Boston.
6. Very cold. W. W. Clear.
7. W. W. Cold and clear. Mrs. Adams din'd here.
8. A. M. W. N. Cloudy. Cotton came home. P. M. W. S. A. M. Cotton came here.
9. D. D. W. S. A. M. rain'd very hard. Mr. Smith preached A. M. No meeting P. M. Travelling very bad. I. V. clear'd up cold.
10. W. N. W. Very cold. A. M. carr'd Cotton to Mr. Shute's. The most Ice in the Roads I ever knew.
11. W. S. Blew hard snowd some. I. V. W. N. W. and cold.
12. Excessive cold, clear.
13. Very cold. Clear. I. V. Cloudy.
14. M. Snowed some. P. M. Cleared up cold.
15. Cloudy, cold P. M. W. S. E. Snowed some and rain'd.
16. D. D. Moderate. Mr. Smith preached.
17. Cloudy and very cold.
18. W——. Warm. Thawed, the most pleasant day we have had this Winter.
19. Cloudy. W. S. Warm. Went to Boston and Medford. Rain'd some I. V.
20. M. Cloudy, Foggy. W. S. returned P. M. I. N. rain'd.
21. W. W. Very pleasant. A. M. Cotton came home. Mr. Shute and wife din'd here. I. N. Cloudy and rain'd.
22. Thunder'd hard about 3 o' M. A. M. W. W. Fair and Pleasant.
23. D. D. Pleasant. Mr. Smith preached. Fore and Back Rivers open.
24. Cloudy. I. N. snowed.
25. W. S. E. Rain'd hard.

26. Clear. W. W. Cool.
27. Moderate. Fair. W. W.
28. Cloudy. Thawed.
29. W. N. W. Cloudy P. M. Clear. Windy and I. N. cold.

An Epidemic Cold or Catarrhal Fever prevails through a great part of y^e^ Province, in almost every Family.

March 1. D. D. Mr. Williams preached.
5. Bro. Thaxter here.
7. Good sledding. Fore River shut.
8. D. D. Mr. Smith preached.
9. Town Meeting. Back River shut.
13. P. M. Snow'd and blow'd much on the ground, as much snow as has been this winter.
14. The most snow on the Ground that has been this year. A. M. at Braintree.
15. D. D. Mr. Smith preached.
16. Adjournm't of Town Meeting.
18. At Mr. Shutes.
21. P. M. Cotton came home.
22. D. D. Mr. Smith preached.
23. Cotton went to Mr. Shute's.
24. Precinct Meeting on adjournment.
26. Din'd at Capt. Lovells.
29. D. D. Mr. Smith preached.

April 1. John went to Boston, and Cotton came home. Mr. Shute din'd here.
2. Annual Fast. Mr. Smith preached all day.
5. D. D. Mr. Smith preached.
6. Roads impassible for Carriages. Cotton went to Mr. Shutes.
8. Went to Boston. Bad Travelling.
12. D. D. Mr. Smith preached.
19. D. D. Mr. Smith preached.
21. Went to Braintree.
22. Went to Boston.
26. D. D. Mr. Smith preached.
28. Billy and Sister Jones here.
29. Brother and sister went home.

The Snow Storm of the 3d. Inst. was very severe. It bank'd up the Roads in many Places from 7 to 10 Feet, so that they were impassible. Went to Boston ye 8th. Inst. The Road in several Places was so filld with snow that I was oblig'd to go through Pastures, and at Crane's Plain to go thro' Fields.

May 3. D. D. Mr. Jos. Thaxter preached.
7. Went to Boston.

10. D D. Mr. Smith preached.
12. Went to Medford.
13. P. M. return'd.
17. D D. Mr. Smith preached.
18. Mr. Smith and wife din'd here.
19. P. M. at Hingham.
20. Went to Boston.
21. Dr. Lem[ll] Cushing here.
22. Dr. Hall, surgeon of the 14th Regt. here.
24. DD. Mr. Jos. Thaxter preached.
25. Cotton came home.
28. Went to Boston.
29. Mr. Shute din'd here.
31. DD. Mr. Williams preached A. M. Mr. Jesse Reed P. M.

June 2. Went to Boston.
3. David Kingman here.
4. Went to Bridgewater.
7. DD. Mr. Smith preached.
9. Went to Boston.
11. Brother Quincy dined here.
13. Sister Brooks cousins Simon Tufts, Lucy Tufts and Nabby Bishop here.
14. DD. Mr. Smith preached.
15. Sister and cousins went home. Strawberries ripe.
17. Went to Boston, carr'd cousin Betsy Smith. Eat Green Peas being among the first brot to market
20. Cotton came home.
21. DD. Mr. Shute preached all day.
22. P. M. Carried Cotton to Hingham.
24. Went to Boston.
25. Indian corn in its growth as low and small as ever was known at this Time of the year.
27. Went to Boston.
28. DD. Mr. Gannet preached.
29. Began to cut meadow.
30. Carried Mrs. Tufts to Bro. Quincy's.

July 1. Went to Bridgewater.
3. Went to Mr. Shute.
5. DD. Mr. Weld preached.
9. Went to Bridgewater, Pembroke, Hanover and home.
11. Mr. Quincy here. Cotton came back.
12. DD. Mr. Smith preached.
14. Mr. Balding, Dr. Cushing din'd here. Went with Cotton to Medford.

15. Annual Commencement.
17. Mrs. Shute and Daniel din'd here.
19. DD. Mr. Wibird preached.
20. Carried Cotton to Mr. Shute's.
21. Went to Boston.
23. Carried Mrs. Tufts to Mr. Shute's.
25. Mrs. Jenks here.
26. DD. Mr. Mansfield preached.
28. Went to Boston.

2 young cattle belong'g to Capt. Lovell killd by Lightning, ye 30th Inst. P. M.

August 2. DD. Mr. Smith preached.
3. At Bro. Quincy's.
5. Mr. Smith, Billy, Billy Smith's wife, Billy Smith jun. dined here.
8. Cotton came home.
9. DD. Mr. Smith preached all day.
10. Cotton went to Mr. Shute's.
12. Went to Boston. Fetched Mercy Brooks here.
15. Rob. Tuft's mother well.
17. Mrs. Tufts went home.
19. Bro. Billy's wife and Dr. Rob. Lloyd here.
20. At Mr. Shute's.
21. Went to Boston.
23. DD. Mr. Smith preached.
25. Went to Dedham in search of my man. Lodg'd at Mr. Adams.
27. Went to Boston.
30. DD. Cousin Isaac Smith preach'd all day.

The Measles have prevailed in some Parts of the Province for some months past, and are at their Height in Boston the latter End of this August; hitherto have been very light.

September 1. Went to Middleborough with D. King. Lodg'd at Miller's Tavern.
2. Din'd at David Kingman
4. Went to Hingham.
5. Cotton came home.
6. DD. Mr. Weld preachd all day.
7. Cotton went home.
8. Went to Medford, lodg'd at Bro. Brooks.
13. DD. Mr. Smith preachd all day.
14. My wife sick.
15. Went to Boston
20. DD. Mr. Smith preachd.
22. Went to Boston.
26. Cotton came home.

27. DD. Mr. Smith preachd.

October 2. Went to Boston. I. V. Sam[l]. Humphrey's wife died.

4. DD. Mr. Smith preachd. Capt. White of Lebanon died here.

11. DD. Mr. Smith preachd.

12. Went to Boston.

18. DD. Mr. Smith preachd.

20. Went to Boston, lodgd at Mr. Cranch's

24. Cotton came home.

25. DD. Mr. Smith preachd.

26. Set out for Newbury Port A. M. I lodgd at Medford.

27. Arrivd at Bro. Sam[l] Tufts at N. Pt. at 4 o. P. M. Benj. Bicknell died.

28. Din'd at Bro. Sam[ls].

29. Din'd at Mrs. Burts, with Capt. Tracey etc.

30. Set out for Medford, din'd with Sister Jones at Salem, Sister Bishop and John in company. Lodg'd at Bro. Simons.

November 1. Cousin Isaac Smith preachd.

2. Isaac Smith and Mr. Mansfield dind here.

4. Went to Boston.

8. DD. Mr. Wibird preachd.

9. Went to Bridgewater.

10. Went to Boston.

15. DD. Mr. Smith preachd.

17. Went to Boston.

19. Bro. Simon and wife here.

20. Bro. and wife went home.

22. DD. Mr. Williams preachd.

24. Went to Boston.

28. Capt. Brooks here.

30. Went to Boston. Capt. Brooks went home.

December 2. Cotton came home.

3. Annual Thanksgiving.

5. Went to Boston. Cotton with me.

6. DD. Mr. Smith preachd.

7. Went to Dedham 3d Præcinct as one of the Arbitrators between Rev'd And[w] Tyler and ye Præcinct.[1] Cotton went to Mr. Shute's.

8. All arbitrators not arrivd.

9. Went into ye Meeting House. Hearing of ye Parties began abt. 11 o. A. M.

10. Began at 11 o. continued till 2 o, and fm 3 o to 9 o at N.

11. Hear'g fm. 11 to 2, finish'd.

12. Gave in the award. Arbitrators rec'd the Thanks of Rev[d] And[w]

[1] See Cooke, History of the Clapboard Trees Parish, Dedham, 46–51.

Tyler and his opponents, the Præcinct. Returnd home. Cotton came home.

13. DD. Mr. Smith preachd.
14. Cotton went to Mr. Shute's.
15. John Jenks went to Boston.
16. Jn° Jenks went to Salem.
17. At Bro. Thaxter's.
18. At Braintree.
20. DD. Mr. Smith preachd all day.
21. Measles spread fast.
23. John Jenks returnd.
27. DD. Mr. Gay preachd.
29. Jn° Jenks went to Boston.
30. At Mr. Shutes.

1784.

January 4. DD. Mr. Porter preachd.

6. Raind hard by Nine o Clock I. V. the snow all gone, a violent flood came on.
7. The Freshet here carr'd away Dams, Bridges, etc.
11. DD. Mr. Porter preachd.
18. DD. Mr. Porter preachd.
25. DD. At Dr. Cooper's meeting. Mr. Shuttlesworth preachd A.M., Mr. Eliot P. M.

February 1. DD. Mr. Piper preachd.

5. Paid Mr. Turner for preaching at Weymouth 4 Sabbaths, £6.
8. DD. At Col. Quincy's.
9. and 10. At Col. Quincy's.
11. Came to Boston
12. Went to Col. Quincy's.
15. DD. Mr. Piper preachd.
27. Peace proclaimd and celebrated.

March 3. Col. [Josiah] Quincy died this morning. P. M. Went to Braintree to Col. Quincy's.

6. Col. Quincy buried.
7. DD. Mr. Shuttlesworth preachd.
8. Town meeting
14. DD. Mr. Shuttlesworth preachd.
21. DD. Mr. Shuttlesworth preachd.
25. The Court rose.
28: Mr. Porter preachd.

April 1. Din'd at Mr. Bowdoin's.

2. At Bro. Quincy's.

4. DD. Mr. Porter preachd.
5. Moderator Town Meeting.
11. DD. Mr. Porter preachd.
14. Went to Boston. Medical meeting.
15. Fast Day.
18. DD. Mr. Porter preachd.
25. DD. Mr. Shuttlesworth preachd.

May 2. DD. Mr. Everett preachd.
9. DD. Mr. Shuttlesworth preachd.
13. Town Meeting.
16. DD. Mr. Shuttlesworth preachd.
23. DD. Mr. Wibird preachd.
30. DD. Mr. Shuttlesworth preachd.

Caterpillars abound and devour the apple trees in this and the neighboring towns.

June 6. DD. Mr. Robins preachd.
13. DD. Rev. Mr. Haven preachd.
20. DD. Mr. Shuttlesworth preachd.
21. Prec[inc]t meeting.
27. DD. Mr. Wibird preachd.

June 14. Bo't a Bill of Exchange of £75 sterl'g of Mrs. Adams drawn on Jn° Adams Esq. London, and gave her £103 lawf. money for it. Sent the same to Mr. James Elworthy London.

July 4. DD. Mr. Shuttlesworth preachd.
7. At the Castle.
9. Due to me on payrole as Senator, £ 15. 18. 9. Gen[l] Court rose and adjourned to the 2d. Wednesday in October.
11. DD. Mr. Weld preachd.
18. DD. Mr. Shuttlesworth preachd.
21. At Commencement
25. DD. Mr. Taft preachd.

August 1. DD. Mr. Shuttlesworth preachd.
8. DD. Mr. Evans preachd.
15. DD. Mr. Evans preachd.
22. DD. Mr. Gay preachd.
23. Un[cle] and Aunt Smith dind here.
25. Went to Cambridge Academy meeting.
29. DD. Mr. Evans preachd.
30. P'd Mr. Evans for preaching 4 Sabbaths, £6.

September 5. DD. Rev[d] Mr. Eckley preachd.
12. DD. Mr. Evans preachd.
19. DD. No meeting this day.
22. Sister Bishop, son and his wife here.
26. DD. Mr. Isaac Smith preachd.

Mem. Sept. 2d. Deliv^{d} Sam. Quincy an Enamelld Ring in memory of Jos. Quincy Esq. to be by him transmitted to his Father.

October 3. DD. Mr. Wibird preachd.

10, 17, 24, and 31. DD. Mr. Crafts preachd.

November 7, 14, 21. DD. Mr. Packard preachd.

22. Parish meeting.

25. Annual Thanksgiving. Mr. Packard preachd.

28. DD. At Braintree meeting.

December 5, 12. DD. Mr. Hazlot preachd.

19. DD. Mr. Davis preachd.

22. A meeting of the Trustees of Derby School.

26. DD. Mr. Davis preachd.

The Autumn very moderate, and no cold weather untill the 9 or 10th of December.

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- Mount Holyoke College.

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- Town of.

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- Old Colony Historical Society.
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Waltham.
- City of.

Watertown.
- Watertown Historical Society.

Wenham.
- Town of.

Westborough.
- Westborough Historical Society.

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- Town of.

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